A New Book OF LOYAL English Martyrs AND CONFESSORS,

Who have endured the Pains and Terrours of Death, Arraignment, Baniſhment, and Impriſonment, for the Maintenance of the Juſt and Legal Government of theſe Kingdoms,

Both in

CHURCH and STATE.

By *James Heath*, Gent.

Pſal. 112. 6.

The Righteous ſhall be had in Everlaſting Remembrance.

LONDON,
Printed for *R. H.* and are to be Sold by *Simon Miller* at the Star in St. *Pauls* Church-Yard.

A List of the Martyrs contained in this Volume.

Thomas Earl of Strafford, Pzoto-Martyz.

M. Yeomans of Bzistol, Mart.

M. Bowcher of Bzistol Martyz.

M. Tompkins of London Mart

M. Chaloner of Lon. Martyz.

M. Knibeton, Martyz.

William Laud L. Archbishop of Canterburie, Martyz.

Sz. Charles Lucas, Martyz.

Sz. George Lisle, Martyz.

Major Pitcher, Martyz.

Our Dzead Soveraign KING CHARLES the First, the Glorious Martyz.

Arthur L. Capel, Martyz.

Henrie Earl of Holland, Mart.

M. Beaumont, Minister, Mart.

Major Morris, Martyz:

Cozner Blackburne, Martyz.

Col. Eusebius Andrews, Mart:

S. Henrie Hide, Martyz.

M. Benson, Martyz.

Capt. Brown Bushel, Martyz.

M. Love, Minister, Martyz:

Capt. Gibbons, Martyz.

James, Earl of Darbie, Mart.

S. Tim. Fetherston Haugh, Martyz.

Col. Benbow, Martyz.

Col. John Gerrard, Martyz.

M. Wowel, Martyz.

Col. Penruddock, Martyz:

Col. Grove, Martyr:

Sr: Henrie Slingsbie, Martyr:

Dr. Huit, Martyr:

Col. Ashton, Martyr:

M. John Bettelie, Martyz.

M. Dean, Martyz:

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ENGLANDS NEW BOOK of Loyal Martyrs;

Being a perfect Account of all those Loyal Persons that suffered the pains and Terrours of Death; By colour of any Sentence, during the Late Rebellion.

The Introduction.

NO sooner was the *Marian* Persecution ceased, and the Flames thereof extinguished (in which, so many of the most able and faithful Assertors, as well as weaker Professors of the Protestant Religion, were sacrificed

to the Rage and Pride of *Romes* Revenge) by the moſt happy and auſpicious Aſſumption of Queen *Elizabeth*, of Famous Memory, to this Crown and Kingdom, whoſe Bleſſed Influences enlivened thoſe dying Embers of the Reformation to a moſt bright Profeſſion; but a *ſtrange* and a new kind of *Fire*, like a ſubterraneous Conflagration, as indiſcernably, as irreſiſtably ſmothered and kindled in the minds of ſome Factious Perſons, pretending to a more holy and ſeverer Diſcipline of Life, until the Eruption of it, in the times of *Arthington* and *Hacket*, (the laſt of which, deſervedly ſuffered in the gainſaying of *Corah*) and perſecuted this but juſt eſcaped Church (like Vertue betwixt two Extreams) afreſh.

The Pretence of thoſe men was a Reformation of that which ſo lately had been reformed, taxing it of retaining the *Fæces* and Dregs of *Romiſh* Superſtition, as being but ſuperficially and ſlightly purified of thoſe groſſe corruptions which yet their own eies had obſerved to have paſſed through more then 70 times 7 fires in that hot Martyrdom.

This Male-contented Opinion and Humour, was firſt vented in ſecret whiſpering and

and murmuring againſt the Government, which amounted in ſhort time after, to ſeveral Conventicles and Meetings of the diſſatisfied Brethren, as they were humbly pleaſed to term themſelves, into ſundry Invectives and publick Expoſtulations with the Queen, her Councils and Parliaments, ſo that the Party grew ſo formidable, that particular Lawes were made againſt them, and the aforeſaid *Hacket* thereupon executed.

For a while after this Juſtice, the Faction ſlunk into Corners, and hid themſelves in the Dens and Retreats of their own ſhame, till the Coming in of King *James*, towards whom they aſſumed, out of ſome confidence of his preſent advancement to this Crown, to obtrude the ſame irreverend *Poſtulata*, complaining among other things, chiefly of the Common Prayer, and of the extraordinary Power of Biſhops, in reſtrayning the Violence and Fury of their Libelling and pragmatical Books and Lectures, whoſe main Deſign and aim was the ſame with the Complices of *Corah*, *Ye Sons of Levi take too much upon you*, when their Conſpiracy was *to take all*; a Truth moſt lamentably confirmed in theſe our Late Reforming Times.

For from that Conference that King vouchſafed their impertinencies, at *Hampton-Court* (where his Learning had the good Fortune of reducing and reclaiming one of their moſt able, but ingenuous Champions, by name, D. *Reynolds*) they never deſiſted from undermining the Policy and Government of the Kingdome. Nor was that wiſe King unſenſible of their Serpentine waies and Proceedings, but yet was loath to diſcover ſuch a fear of them, as might render them confident and bold, to attempt any thing. You may ſee in his Character of them by the name of *Puritan* in his Δωρον βασιλικον to Prince *Henry*, what he thought of them.

The Lenity and good Nature of his Son and Succeſſor, *Charles* the Martyr, afforded them the Advantages they had long expected and waited for. It is incredible what a number of Proſelytes they had gained by their croſſe-grain'd Sanctity, into how many Families they had inſinuated themſelves in ſo ſhort a time; ſo that now they had gain'd almoſt an equal Voyce in the Parliament, where, without Petitions or Supplications, intermixed with ſome doubtful Menacings (their ordinary ſtyle, and continued to this day) they brought about

their

their long projected Device of Rebellion and Sacriledge.

Omne malum ex Aquilone; the wind that first tempested the Calm and Serenity of a long *Series* and Tract of Peace, which this Nation had enjoyed, was conjured up by these evil Spirits out of the North, from *Scotland*, which had never been freed from such tumultuous *Boutefews* in the Clergy, (since their Reformation) as our Zealots here; but the prize of a Sedition (Church-Lands) was not competent enough there to the hazard (as for the share the Ministers might expect) as to engage and embroyl them, without some Assurances and Augmentations from abroad, to which, how industriously and passionately many of our beginning Reformists in this Kingdom, consented and contracted, 'twil be impertinent to re-eat here, being so fully cleared by subsequent Proofs of mutual Assistance, by several Treaties, by the Covenant, by advance of Money and joynt Counsels.

Indeed the *Scotch* Nobility were mainly concerned: for by an Act of Revocation, passed in that Kings Reign, the Church-Lands were to revert again to the right Proprietors, which the Nobility were then

poſſeſſed of, and though the King afterwards out of ſome prudent Conſiderations, had indulged them a longer tenure, yet, as there is no ſecurity ſafe enough to a covetous mind, they could not rely on that Favour; ſo that the *Scotch* Rebels fought for that they had ſacrilegiouſly got, and the *Engliſh* Rebel for what ſacrilegiouſly he ſhould get.

The Event of that unlucky War, or rather Preparations to it, ſoon inflated and puft up the Non-Conformiſt in *England*, the Quarrel (as the Grave Lecturers deceived, and impoſed on the people) being thought to be the ſame, againſt Biſhops, againſt the Liturgy, againſt Ceremonies, and ſuch like; but it was clearly againſt the Biſhops-Lands, againſt Loyalty and Obedience, and againſt the indiſpenſable duties of a good Conſcience, things more indifferent to theſe ſtrict Diſciplinarians, then a Reverend Decency in holy Performances;

Their way being thus made (the unſearchable Providence of God) all hands were ſet to work to demoliſh and throw down that goodly ſtructure and Fabrick of Government, under which this Nation had ſo long flouriſhed upon the Support and Ba-

ſis

ſis of the Three Eſtates, The King, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal. To the Ruine of all which, theſe New Modellers proceeded in this Method, moſt propheti-cally foretold, by that in-comparable M. *Hooker*, un-der the Embleme of a ſtately and well-ſpreaded Tree, conſiſting "chiefly of 3 great Boughs, to all which, it "ſeemed not at firſt expedient to offer the "Edge of the Axe at once, but rather to ſin-"gle them, and ſtrike at the weakeſt firſt, "making ſhew that the Lop "of that one, ſhall draw the "more abundance of Sap to "the other two, that there-"by they may the better "proſper. This was put in practice by our Deformers, and the Biſhops firſt deſigned to the Fatal Stroke, the weighty Fall of whom, was ſure to draw down the other two, with any the leaſt touch, together with them.

Hook. Eccleſ. Pol. Lib. 8. init.

Dolus Inter-valla ſcele-rum poſcebat. Tacit.

For a Parliament being called in *Nov.* 1640. with as much Clamour, as Impu-dence, did theſe Factious Incendiaries of the Puritan Party, affront and aſſault the Members of both Houſes, thruſting their Demands into the Two Houſes, under the

Title of Petitions, being backt with armed Force and Violence; ſeveral tumultuous Rabbles came ſwarming down to *Weſtminſter*, by the Kings Gates at *White-Hall*, others in Boats and Barges, armed likewiſe, by water; obtruding their unknown Caprichio's and conceits upon the Parliament, many of whom, were ſo far from checking or reſiſting ſo dangerous a Torrent, which had overflowed the Banks of either Modeſty, Loyalty or Chriſtianity, that they rather abetted, ſided with, and countenanced thoſe treaſonable Attempts, nor did theſe Tumults ceaſe, till the King was forced to abandon his own Houſe, to ſave Himſelf, His Honour and Conſcience.

But before they began this great Enterprize upon a whole Order ſo rooted and ſetled by the Laws, their Dignities and Revenues, ſo reverenced and eſteemed for their individual Perſons and Worth, by all men of Wiſdom and Honour, ſo ſupported and defended by the King and his Authority (which at firſt they durſt not grapple with) his chief Miniſters of State, his Judges, and for the greateſt part of the Nobility; they caſt about how to effect their Tragical Intentions and Deſigns, another more

more cruel, but plausible way; and indeed otherwise then so, they could not possibly: or at least probably, have accomplished their Mischiefs.

Therefore they began with the Terrible Outcries of Justice, of calling Delinquents and the Kings evil Counsellers (words of course with Traytors) to condigne punishment. Many there were whom they had put down in their black List for such, and many violent Speeches were made by the Faction in the House of Commons concerning them, that what they wanted in the matter & substance of the Charge or guilt, they might make up in the number & quality of those whom they pretended to be guilty. Divers of them, to avoid the popular Fury, knowing themselves to be marked out by the chief of the Faction, for Ruine, and withal, that the greatness of their places could not consist without some little Offences, which their enemies had opportunity to aggravate, withdrew themselves, out of a wise consideration of the prevalency and overbearing power of those men. But some, whose Honour and Innocency could endure no such Eclipses, and betwixt whose greatness and Vertue, they scorned the Vulgar and hopeless people. Obloquy

should so interpose, as to darken and obscure their Glory and Lustre, stood still in their Orbs and Stations, and shone with the same brightness of Integrity.

The pretended Crime was a dutiful Observation of the Fifth Commandment, which lay in the way to their designed absoluteness; the Faction was engaged against all Power or Authority but that of their own Wils, and could allow no tender Consciences to the Second Table, which having prophaned in the first and most important Command, they easily contravened and abrogated the rest, in murdering, plundering, and adulterating the Affections, perjuring and insatiably coveting the Goods and Lives of their Fellow-Subjects, who may deservedly be canonized for Martyrs, for Confessing and Maintaining to their death, so precious and so commanded a Duty of Loyal Obedience.

Amongst the first of these, was the Earl of *Strafford*, a Person, whom the Faction knew to be a firm Friend to the Bishops, and a great Lover of that Sacred Function and Order, one that had manifested that Affection to them, in his Administration of the Government of *Ireland*; a wise, yea the wisest Subject in the Kingdom, who

stood

ſtood as a Bulwark and Defence againſt all Invaſions, Plots and Conſpiracies, againſt either Church or State, and without whoſe Removal, they well knew, they ſhould effect nothing.

The King had ſummoned this very Parliament by his Advice, concurring with others of his Council, having called him out of *Ireland*, ſomtime before, to aſſiſt him in the War, againſt the aforeſaid Rebellious *Scots*, as Lt Gen. to his Army, then upon the Borders; from whence he was no ſooner come to *London*, and at the opening of the Parliament, taken his Place in the Houſe of Lords, but a Charge of High Treaſon was exhibited againſt him by the Commons, and thereupon he was committed to the Black Rod, and from thence to the Tower of *London*.

This was the firſt Parliament wherein the Faction was predominant; not that their *particular number* made them ſo, but they cloſed with all Intereſts, that were any way offended at the Government; and ſome well-meaning men there were too, that were led by the Noſe by theſe (forſooth) good Patriots; but having by theſe means got the Vote of the Commons in their own management, they reſolved, not

to

to abate the least Ace of that Power.

The King in the beginning of the Parliament, to remove all Distrust and Jealousie of him, had granted them whatever they had demanded, had signed the Bill for a Triennial Parliament, had Enacted, that he would not dissolve this, without the Consent of the Lords & Commons themselves; so that there rested nothing of the Kings part, which Reasonable men could desire, for him more to grant, or they to ask; therefore he took it very unkindly, that in the midst of these Favours and Grants, they should so unhansomly affront him, in challenging his Prime Minister of State, in so high a manner. But they were resolved to passe the Limits of all Duty and Obedience, and having the King so engaged, as beforesaid, and necessitated also for Money, to put and impose any thing upon him, though never so disagreeable to his honour and Conscience, nay to common Reason.

To this purpose, after the Charge was exhibited, the Faction in the House, and their Agents and Partisans in the City (who had their Correspondents also in the Country, as appeared afterwards by several Petitions brought out of divers Counties of *England*)

England) drew down a confused Rabble of Apprentices, Seamen, and others, intermingled with some of the leading Grandees, who were to instruct this many-headed Monster, what they should cry out for, or what they should do upon any emergency, who coming to *Westminster-Hall*, made a violent cry for Justice against *Strafford*, which continued so many dayes together, till at last, not seeing the businesse go on, with that dispatch they wished, and being informed by their Members of the Faction in the House, that the Bill of Attainder stuck with the Lords, and that they refused to passe it, they proceeded to that Impudence, as to stop the Lords Coaches as they went to the House, and threaten them if they would not consent to his Condemnation, to hinder them from entring into the House, and that they would turn them back; withal, they posted up the Names of those Lords, who would not consent to this cruel and barbarous way of proceeding against the said Earle, calling them *Straffordians*, and enemies of their Country, with this menacing Subscription, *This, and more shall be done unto them*, &c.

If this had been meerly the Rage of the Multitude, the Fate of this worthy and

Noble

Noble Person had been something the lesse lamentable, by how much injuries of violence are lesse terrible and imputable then those of Deliberation; but here was the bloudy hand of the Puritan Preacher, most apparently concerned, who now thought to wreak himself of all those Silencings had been put upon their Seditious Mouths, by this cry for bloud, which no Horseleech ever more greedily sucked; so by these Prophets the Word was put into the mouth of the multitude.

Many Enemies, and those the ablest Lawyers of the Kingdom, and Eloquent Orators also, this Noble Earle was combated with, against whom nevertheless, he most rationally, politely, and learnedly, without any the least Passion (confidence, or Fear, being alike distant from them both, but in an even and excellent temper of mind) so well defended himself, that his Peers could not find where to fasten his Charge; which because of the extraordinary manage of it, and that he is the *Protomartyr*, take a view of in this short Account.

An Account of the Life, Tryal, and Death of that Loyal PROTO-MARTYR, THOMAS, Earle of *Strafford*, Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, Beheaded, *May* 12. 1641.

WHat was tauntingly said by the *French*, concerning this great and prudent Statesman, that the *English* were mad, having but one wise Head, to cut it off, was Truth enough, and too sadly experienced: All Essaies of describing those great Abilities, and comprehensiveness of his mind, are therefore unfeasable, because none but himself could pourtraict them to any Appearance or Semblance of that Life and Quickness which manifested it self, even in that unsearchable and profound depth of his Counsels and Actions; so that he hath left nothing transmittible to our Imitation, but his Loyalty; where-

in,

in we and his Enemies agree in this, that we have nothing else to lay hold on, his other superexcellent qualities being above our and their reach and understanding. The Reason undoubtedly why he was assaulted, with the new Engine of accumulative and constructive Treason.

He hath for his honour and glory a most illustrious character given him by King *Charles* of blessed memory, in his Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ in these words, —— "I look upon my "Lord of *Strafford*, as a Gentleman whose "abilities might make a Prince rather a-"fraid than ashamed to employ him in the "greatest affaires of State, *&c.* so that all that can be added to his memory and renown by any other pen, will be but a superfluous labour; but because that good Prince only considered him in his setting, wherein he was as unhappily concernd, as he was happily in the raising of him, it is thought requisite to take a farther view of him, and deduce him from his Ancestry, to whom he hath contributed more honour, than he received from them.

He was born in *Yorkshire*, of the illustrious Family of the *Wentworths*, and educated according to the greatnesse of his Family, which had brought forth many famous

mous men. As ſoon as he came of age he was choſen a Parliament Man, where he preſently gained the reputation of a States-Man, and good Patriot, by ſtickling againſt the Prerogative, which miſt not the Courts obſervation. By King *Charls* the Firſt, out of honour to his merit and great parts, he was made Baron *Wentworth* of *Raby*, and ſoon after other Titles were conferred on him, together with places of truſt, which he diſcharged to the Kings great content, the ſervices he received from him ballancing his favours beſtowed on him, which he never abuſed, but continued to his death a moſt prudent Councellour, Loyal Subject, and faithful Friend, being taken into the Kings boſom and moſt retired ſecrets.

Soon after he was created Earl of *Strafford*, he was made alſo Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, in which Government he exceeded in policy and good Laws, and careful managem nt in advancing the Kings revenue and aſcertaining it for the future, all that went before him. He did alſo take care for the Church, eſtabliſhed the Proteſtant Religion, countenanced learned men, and preferred them, and ſetled a conſtant revenue for them in that Kingdom, of which prudent and pious action

the

the now Clergy there do reape the fruit.

Some offences were taken at him, by the *Iriſh*, whom he kept in a very hard but orderly ſubjection, ſuppreſſing their outlaws and Tories, and reducing them to a perfect entire obedience to the Kings Authority and the Laws. Unleſſe the ſtrings be wound up hard, we cannot look for good Muſick: he repreſſed and beat down the inſolent Lordings of the great ones over the Commons, whom he ſweetned and artized into the *Engliſh* from their wild and barbarous Cuſtoms, which cauſed him no great Love from the *Iriſh* Nobility, who underſtood the deſign was by ſuch artifices to take from them the abſolute power they had over their poor Vaſſals and Tenants, when they ſhould find the difference between the *Engliſh* Manners and Laws, and thoſe of their own Country. Herein notwithſtanding the great oppoſition he met in the obſtinacy and indocibility and prejudice of that opinionated Nation he made a good procedure, and no doubt, had he continued longer in the Government, and thoſe times had not fallen out, which ſoon put all into a confuſion, had obtained his end.

The *Scotch* War breaking out firſt, as aforeſaid,

foreſaid, he was called out of *Ireland* to aſſiſt the King with his Counſel in thoſe Exigencies which had ſo unpreparedly ſurprized him; to which work, like a Noble Friend, he ſet his head, his hands, and his purſe, advancing by ſubſcription (which the reſt of the Nobility followed, according to their eſtate) twenty thouſand pounds, with which aid, and the large ſupply of the Clergy, who granted the King four ſhillings in the pound for ſix years together, which was effected by his influence; that King raiſed that Army againſt the *Scots*.

The Earl of *Strafford* was ſick at the Defeat given the *Engliſh* at *Newburne*, under my Lord *Conway*, whereupon, an overture was made by other Lords then about the King for a Peace with the *Scots*, which ſoon after taking effect, the King returned to *Weſtminſter*, where he had ſummoned his Parliament according to the advice of this Lord, and the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, both whom they rendred odious to the People, upon the very account of being Enemies to Parliaments.

The very firſt thing of conſequence done at the firſt Seſſions, was a charge exhibited by the Houſe of Commons againſt this Earl,

Earl, which consisted of 28. Articles of high Treason, *Feb.* 16. 1640. *The substance of them all* was, *That he had endeavoured to subvert the fundamental Laws and Governments of the Realms of* England *and* Ireland; *that he had done ill Offices betwixt the King and the* Scots, *and betwixt the King and his Subjects of this Kingdom*; *that he had advised the King to bring up the Army out of the North, and overawe the Parliament, and that he had informed his Majesty that he had an Army of* 10000 *men in* Ireland *ready to be transported for the same Service.*

His Tryal thereupon *April* 13. ensued, which was done with all solemnity, a Court being made for the purpose, with seats for both Houses, and a Canopy for the King, with a Terrasse before it; The Earl of *Arundel* was Lord High Steward; his Accusers were *Pym*, *St. Johns*, *Whitlock*, Sr. *Walter Earles*, Serjeant *Glyn*, *Maynard*, *Stroud*, Mr. *Selden*, *Hambden*, &c. The Lieutenant warded all their blows, defending himself bravely and learnedly, so that there was no hopes of prevailing against his innocence by the Law, before the Lords that were his Judges.

But the implacable fury of the House of Commons, since they could effect nothing this

this way, put them upon another, which was to draw up a Bill of Attaindor and present it to the Lords, whereby the matter of Fact was declared to have been sufficiently proved, and then as to Law that he had incurred the censure of Treason, the Lords stumbled at this way of proceeding, as a path leading to their own destruction, it being a course unsuitable to the practice and state of the Kingdom, and their own safety, and against Common Justice. To this it was replied by the Commons, that if the Lords would not joyn with them in this way, they feared a rupture might follow, for that the People would not be satisfied without Justice done upon the Earl, as the Author of all their grievances.

The Lords stood for a while to their first determination, and heard the Earl by his Council at their Bar as to matter of Law; this made the House of Commons (though the King in a set speech to them, had cleared the Earl, from any design of Treason or consulting to any arbitrary Government, nor could he concur to punish him as a Traitor) the more eager. Whereupon the *Londoners* came down in Tumults, crying Justice, and threatning the Lords as aforesaid,

aforesaid, so that at last the said Bill, ushered in by a Protestation, passed the whole House of Commons *nemine contradicente*, but the Lord *Darby* and one or two more; and presently after the House of Lords, where were present 45, 26 against him, and 19 for him, most of his friends absenting themselves for fear of the multitude. Immediatly the Kings assent was required to the Bill, who consulted with the Bishops, who, all but the Bishop of *London*, now his Grace of *Canterbury* (and who as the King observed in his Book, fared the best of all) advised him against it, but that which most swayed the King, to sign it, which he bitterly afterwards repented, was a Letter of the Earls to his Majesty, which being too long here to insert, I shall only give you that Passage wherein he desires his Majesty to passe the Bill.

And therefore in few words, as I put my self wholly upon the Honour and Justice of my Peers, so clearly as to beseech your Majesty might please to have spared that Declaration of yours, on Saturday last, and intirely to have left me to their Lordships, so now to set your Majesties Conscience, &c. at liberty, I do most humbly beseech you, for the preventing of such mischief as may happen by your re-

fusal

fusal to pass the Bill, by this means to remove praised be God, I cannot say this accursed, but I confess this unfortunate thing forth of the way towards that blessed agreement, which God I trust shall for ever establish betwixt you and your Subjects.

Sir, my consent herein shall more acquit you to God than all the World can do besides; to a willing man there is no injury done, &c.

I have also here inserted for their excellency and eleganey, these two following Speeches, the first at *Westminster Hall* to the Lords at the conclusion of his Trial, the other at the Scaffold, which are as follow.

MY Lords! There yet remaines another Treason, that I should be guilty of; the endeavouring to subvert the fundamental Laws of the Land, that they should now be Treason together, that is not Treason in any one part of Treason accumulative, that so when all will not do, it is woven up with others, it should seem very strange.

Under favour, my Lords, I do not conceive that there is either Statute Law, nor Common-Law, that doth declare the endeavouring to subvert the fundamental Laws, to be high Treason. For

For neither Statute-Law, nor Common-Law written, that ever I could here of, declareth it so.

And yet I have been diligent to enquire, (as I believe you think it doth concern me to do.)

It is hard to be questioned for life and honour upon a Law that cannot be shewn.

There is a Rule which I have learned from Sir *Edward Cooke*, *De non apparentibus & non existentibus eadem ratio*: (Jesu) where hath this fire lain all this while, so many hundred of years, without any smoak to discover it, till it thus burst out to consume me and my children; extreme hard in my opinion, that punishment should precede promulgation of Law! punishment by a Law subsequent to the Acts done.

Take it into your considerations: for certainly it is now better to be under no Law at all, but the will of men, than to conforme our selves under the protection of a Law, as we think, and then be punished for a crime that doth precede the Law: what man can be safe, if that be once admitted?

My Lords, it is hard in another respect, that there should be no token set upon this offence,

offence, by which we ſhould know it, no admonition by which we ſhould be aware of it.

If a man paſſe down the Thames in a Boat, and it be ſplit upon an Anchor, and no booy be ſet, as a token that there is an Anchor there, that party that ows the Anchor, by the Maritime Laws ſhall give ſatisfaction for the damage done; but if it were marked out, I muſt come upon my own peril.

Now where is a mark upon this crime? Where is the token, this is high Treaſon.

If it be under water, and not above water, no humane providence can avail nor prevent my deſtruction.

Lay aſide all humane wiſdom, and let us reſt upon Divine Revelation, if you will condemn before you forewarn the danger.

Oh my Lords! may your Lordſhips be pleaſed to give that regard unto the Peerage of *England*, as never to ſuffer our ſelves to be put on thoſe nice points, upon ſuch contractive interpretations; and theſe are where Laws are not clear, or known. If there muſt be a tryal of wits, I do humbly beſeech you, the ſubject and matter may be ſomewhat elſe than the lives and honours of Peers.

My Lords, we find that the primitive times, in the progreſſion of the plain Doctrine of the Apoſtles, they brought the Books of curious Arts, and burned them. And ſo likewiſe, as I do conceive, it will be wiſdom and providence in your Lordſhips, for your Poſterity and the whole Kingdom, to caſt from you, into the fire, theſe bloudy and moſt myſterious Volumes of Conſtructive and Arbitrary Treaſon; and to betake your ſelves to the plain Letters of the Law and Statute, that telleth us where the crime is, and by telling what is, and what is not, ſhews us how to avoid it. And let us not be ambitious, to be more wiſe and learned in the killing Arts, than our Forefathers were.

It is now full two hundred and forty years ſince ever any man was touched for this alledged crime (to this height) before my ſelf; we have lived happily to our ſelves at home, and we have lived gloriouſly to the World abroad.

Let us reſt contented with that our Fathers left us, and not awaken thoſe ſleepy Lions to our own deſtructions; by raking up a few muſty Records that have lain ſo many Ages by the walls, quite forgotten and neglected.

May

May your Lordſhips be nobly pleaſed, to add this to thoſe other miſ-fortunes befallen me for my ſins, not for my Treaſons, that a preſident ſhould be derived from me of that diſadvantage (as this will be in the conſequent to the whole Kingdom) I beſeech you ſeriouſly to conſider it, and let not my particular Cauſe be looked upon as you do; though you wound me in my intereſt in the Commonwealth, and therefore thoſe Gentlemen ſay, that they ſpeak for the Commonwealth, yet in this particular I indeed ſpeak for it, and the inconveniencies and miſchiefs that will heavily fall upon us: for as it is in the firſt of *Henry* the Fourth, no man will after know what to do, or ſay for fear.

Do not put, my Lords, ſo great difficulties upon the Miniſters of State, that men of wiſdom, honour and vertue, may not with chearfulneſſe and ſafety be imployed for the Publick, if you weigh and meaſure them by grains and ſcruples, the publick affaires of the Kingdom will be laid waſt, and no man will meddle with them, that hath honours, iſſues, or any fortunes to loſe.

My Lords, I have now troubled you longer than I ſhould have done, were it not

for the intereſt of thoſe dear pledges a Saint in Heaven left me; I ſhould be loath, my Lords, (there he ſtopped.)

What I forfeit for my ſelf it is nothing, but that my indiſcretion ſhould forfeit for my child, it even woundeth me deep to the very Soul.

You will pardon my infirmitie, ſomething I ſhould have ſaid, but I am not able, (and ſighed) therefore let it paſſe.

And now, my Lords, I have been, by the bleſſing of Almighty God, taught, that the afflictions of this life preſent, are not to be compared to the eternal weight of that glory that ſhall be revealed to us hereafter.

And ſo, my Lords, even ſo with tranquility of mind I do ſubmit my ſelf freely and clearly to your Lordſhips judgments, and whether that Righteous judgment ſhall be to life or death.

The

The Earl of Straffords *Speech on the Scaffold, immediatly before his Execution on Tower-hill,* May 12, 1641.

My L. Primate of Ireland,

IT is my very great comfort that I have your Lordſhip by me this day, in regard I have been known to you theſe many years, and I do thank God, and your Lordſhip for it that you are here; I ſhould be very glad to obtain ſo much ſilence, as to be heard a few words, but I doubt I ſhall not, the noiſe is ſo great. My Lords, I am come hither by the good will and pleaſure of Almighty God, to pay that laſt Debt I owe to ſin, which is death, and by the Bleſſing of that God, to riſe again through the Merits of *Jeſus Chriſt*, to Righteouſneſſe and Life Eternal. [Here he was a little interrupted.]

My Lords, I am come hither to ſubmit to that Judgment which hath paſſed againſt me; I do it with a very quiet and contented mind, I thank God I do freely forgive all the world, a forgiveneſſe that is not ſpoken from the teeth outwards (as they ſay) but from the very heart, I ſpeak it in the preſence of Almighty God, before

whom I ſtand, that there is not a diſpleaſing thought ariſing in me towards any man living. I thank God I can ſay it, and truly too, my Conſcience bearing me witneſs, that in all my employment, ſince I had the honour to ſerve his Majeſty, I never had any thing in the purpoſe of my heart, but what tended to the joynt and individual proſperity of King and People; although it hath been my ill fortune to be miſ-conſtrued.

I am not the firſt that hath ſuffered in this kind, it is the common portion of us all, while we are in this life, to erre, righteous Judgments we muſt wait for in another place, for here we are very ſubject to be miſ-judged one of another: There is one thing that I deſire to free my ſelf of, and I am very confident (ſpeaking it now with ſo much chearfulneſſe) that I ſhall obtain your Chriſtian Charity in the belief of it. I was ſo far from being againſt Parliaments, that I did alwaies think the Parliaments of *England* were the moſt happy Conſtitutions that any Kingdom or Nation lived under, and the beſt means under God to make the King and People happy.

For my Death, I here acquit all the world, and beſeech the God of Heaven heartily

heartily to forgive them that contrived it, though in the Intentions and Purposes of my heart I am not guilty of what I die for: And my Lord Primate, it is a great comfort for me, that his Majesty conceives me not meriting so severe and heavy a punishment as is the utmost Execution of this Sentence; I do infinitely rejoyce in this Mercy of his, and I beseech God return it into his own bosom, that he may find mercy when he stands most in need of it.

I wish this Kingdom all the Prosperity and Happinesse in the world, I did it living, and now dying it is my wish; I do most humbly recommend this to every one who hears me, and desire they would lay their hands upon their hearts, and consider seriously whether the beginning of the happiness and Reformation of a Kingdom should be written in Letters of Blood: consider this when you are at your homes, and let me be never so unhappy, as that the last drop of my Bloud should rise up in Judgment against any one of you, but I fear you are in a wrong way.

My Lords, I have but one word more, and with that I shall end. I professe that I die a true and obedient Son to the Church of *England*, wherein I was born, and in

which I was bred. Peace and Prosperity be ever to it.

It hath been objected (if it were an Objection worth the answering) that I have been enclined to Popery, but I say truly from my heart, that from the time that I was one and twenty years of age, to this present, going now upon forty nine; I never had in my heart to doubt of this Religion of the Church of *England*: Nor ever had any man the boldnesse to suggest any such thing to me, to the best of my Remembrance: and so being reconciled by the Merits of *Jesus Christ* my *Saviour*, into whose bosom I hope, I shall shortly be gathered, to those Eternal happinesses which shall never have end: I desire heartily the forgivenesse of every man, for any rash or unadvised words, or any thing done amisse: And so my Lords and Gentlemen, Farewel: Farewel all the things of this world.

I desire that you would be silent, and joyn with me in Prayer, and I trust in God we shall all meet and live eternally in heaven, there to receive the Accomplishment of all happinesse, where every Tear shall be wiped away from our eyes, and every sad thought from our hearts; and so, God blesse

bleſſe this Kingdom, and Jeſus have mercy on my Soul.

Then turning himſelf about, he ſaluted all the Noble-men; and took a ſolemn leave of all conſiderable Perſons upon the Scaffold, giving them his Hand.

After that, he ſaid, Gentlemen, I would ſay my Prayers, and entreat you all to pray with me, and for me; then his Chaplain laid the Book of Common-prayer upon the Chair before him, as he kneeled down, on which he prayd almoſt a quarter of an hour, and then as long or longer without the Book, & concluded with the Lords Prayer.

Standing up he eſpies his Brother, Sir *George Wentworth*, and cals him to him, ſaying, Brother, we muſt part, remember me to my Siſter, and to my Wife, and carry my Bleſſing to my Son, and charge him that he fear God, and continue an obedient Son to the Church of *England*, and warn him that he bears no private grudg or revenge toward any man concerning me: & bid him beware that he meddle not with Church-Livings, for that will prove a Moth & canker to him in his Eſtate, and wiſh him to content himſelf to be a Servant to his Country, not aiming at higher preferments.

Aliter] To his Son Mr. *Wentworth* he

commends himself, and gives him charge to serve his God, to submit to his King with all Faith and Allegiance in things temporal, to the Church in things Spiritual, chargeth him again and again, as he will answer it to him in Heaven, never to meddle with the Patrimony of the Church, for if he did, it would be a Canker to eat up the rest of his Estate.

Carry my blessing also to my Daughter *Anne* and *Arabella*, charge them to serve and fear God, and he will blesse them; not forgetting my little Infant, who yet knows neither good nor evil, and cannot speak for it self, God speak for it and blesse it; now said he, I have nigh done, one stroke will make my Wife husbandlesse, my dear children fatherlesse, and my poor Servants masterlesse, and will separate me from my dear Brother, and all my Friends. But let God be to you, and them all in all.

After this, going to take off his Doublet, and to make himself unready, he said, I thank God I am not afraid of death, nor daunted with any discouragement rising from any fears, but do as chearfully put off my Doublet at this time, as ever I did, when I went to bed; then he put off the Doublet, wound up his hair with his hands,

and

and put on a white Cap.

Then he called, where is the man that is to do this laſt Office? (meaning the Executioner) call him to me: when he came and asked him forgiveneſſe, he told him he forgave him and all the world: then kneeling down by the Block, he went to Prayer again himſelf, the Primate of *Ireland* kneeling on the one ſide, and the Miniſter on the other: To the which Miniſter, after Prayer, he turned himſelf, having done Prayer, and ſpoke ſome few words ſoftly, having his hands lifted up, and cloſed with the Miniſters hands.

Then bowing himſelf to lay his Head upon the Block, he told the Executioner, that he would firſt lay down his Head to try the fitneſſe of the Block, and take it up again before he would lay it down for good and all: And ſo he did; and before he laid it down again, he told the Executioner, that he would give him warning when to ſtrike by ſtretching forth his hands: And preſently laying down his Neck upon the Block, and ſtretching forth his Hands, the Executioner ſtruck off his Head at one blow, and taking it up in his hand, ſhewed it to all the People, and ſaid, *God ſave the King.*

His Body was afterwards embalmed, and appointed

appointed to be carried into *Yorkshire*, there to be buried among his Anceſtors.

He left theſe three Inſtructions for his Son in Writing.

First, That he ſhould continue ſtill to be brought up under thoſe governors, to whom he had committed him; as being the beſt he could pick out of all thoſe within his knowledge, and that he ſhould not change them, unleſſe they were weary of him; that he ſhould rather want himſelf, then they ſhould want any thing they could deſire.

Secondly, He chargeth him as he would anſwer it at the laſt day, not to put himſelf upon any publick Employments till he was Thirty years of age at leaſt: And then if his Prince ſhould call him to Publick Service, he ſhould carefully undertake it, to teſtifie his Obedience, and withal to be faithful and ſincere to his Maſter, though he ſhould come to the ſame end that himſelf did.

Thirdly, That he ſhould never lay any hand upon any thing that belonged to the Church: He foreſaw that Ruine was like to come upon the Revenues of the Church, and that perhaps they might be ſhared amongſt the Nobility and Gentry:

But

But if his Son medled with any of it, he wiſhed the Curſe of God might follow him and all them, to the deſtruction of the *moſt Apoſtolical Church upon Earth.*

Epitaph on the Earl of *Strafford.*

HEre lies Wiſe, and Valiant Duſt,
Huddled up 'twixt Fit and Juſt.
STRAFFORD, *who was hurried hence,*
'Twixt Treaſon and Convenience.
He ſpent his time here in a Miſt;
A Papiſt, *yet a* Calviniſt.
His Princes neareſt Joy and Grief,
He had, yet wanted all Relief.
The Prop and Ruine of the State;
The Peoples violent Love and Hate:
One in Extreams lov'd, and abhorr'd,
Riddles lie here; or in a word,
Here lies Blood; and let it lie
Speechleſs ſtill, and never cry.

The

The Life and Death of that Great Prelate and Martyr, the moſt Reverend William Laud, *Lord Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *and Primate of all* England, *Beheaded*, January 10. 1644.

THE Fate of this Learned and Magnificent Prelate firſt and ſignally verified that Preſage of *King James*, *No Biſhop, no King*, he being the Uſher to that miſerable calamity, which in the ſame manner and method, the ſame way of death, befel that moſt Bleſſed Prince; for that Prophetick Saying was to be accompliſhed in every Point, not only of Regiment, but in the concerns of natural Life, like *Hippocrates* his Twins, to live and die together.

His Originals were from an honeſt and well-reputed Parentage, of good eſteem and credit in the Town of *Reading*, the place of his Nativity; his Father a Clothier, his Mother of the Family of the *Smiths*, of

of a gentile extraction, by which ſide, Sir *John Robinſon* is related to him; The Eſtate they had, was ſuch, as neither ſo low, to cloud or obſcure his promiſing natural Endowments, or ſo advanced as to ſerene them, and ſhew them to the world in that Pomp and Luſtre, to which at ſome diſtances they exereed themſelves, and by degrees mounted to the top & ἀκμὴ of Eccleſiaſtical Promotion and Dignity in this Kingdom.

From his Seed-place and Nurſery of *Reading*, he was tranſplanted to St. *Johns* Colledge in *Oxford*, where he gave preſent ſigns of his Future Glory, being obſerved by all men, as the Ornament of the Houſe, and whole Univerſity. He continued here, having paſſed through all the Honourable Employments of his Colledge, till his worth could be no longer concealed; and much beholding was he to that his Modeſty of Nature, which ſo long hid him from publick employment, and gave him time and opportunity of laying in that Stock and Proviſion of all kind of Learning, which his unwearied diligence did ſo freely ſpend in the ſeveral Places and Provinces he ſo wiſely diſcharged, being Chaplain firſt to the Earl of *Devonſhire*, and Proctor of his Univerſity. From Batchelor of Divinity, he

he proceeded Doctor, became Chaplain to Dr. *Neat*, then Bishop of *Rochester*; afterwards translated to *York*, who preferred him to King *James*, who made him Prebend of *Bugden* and *Westminster*, Dean of *Gloucester*, and Archdeacon of *Huntington*, and lastly, President of his own Colledge.

Soon after he was made Bishop of St. *Davids*, by the same bountiful Master, but King *Charles* finding his great abilities, took him into more especial favour, giving him the Bishoprick of *Bath* and *Wells*, made him Dean of his Chappel, and one of his Privy Council, then Bishop of *London* and Chancellor of *Oxford*, and in conclusion, Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

Dr. *Abbots* (his Predecessor in that See) Remissenes and Indifferency concerning the ceremonies used in the Church of *England*, was the cause that the Gangren of Non-conformity was so far spread, that it was no lesse trouble, then it raised Envy and Obloquy against him, to strive to enjoyn and take order for the strict Observation of the said Rites, being every where called Innovations. By this means Episcopal Government was by many traduced, many Books and Libels printed against them, wherein this Prelate was sure to

bear

bear the greateſt burthen, the chief of thoſe Writers were *Baſtwick*, *Burton*, and Mr. *Pryn*, who were afterwards ſentenced in the *Star-Chamber*, and ſuffered in the Pillory.

But that which mainly, and chiefly helped forward his ruine, was his recommending or enjoying the uſe of the *Engliſh* Liturgy in the *Scotch* Church, which was received there with ſo much exaſperation, that it mightily promoted the Wars then in intention and deſignment by the Faction in that Kingdom.

Soon after Libels were thrown about, full of ſedition, and railing, and ſcurrilous jeers againſt him, which were ſeconded, with a Tumult and rabble of *Londoners* aſſaulting his Houſe at *Lambeth*, for which one of the chief *Thomas Benſted*, was hanged in St. *Georges* Fields in *Southwark*.

He was falſly by ſuch People reported for a Papiſt, whereas what ſtronger proof can be brought for his firmneſſe in the Proteſtant Religion, than that Book of his againſt *Fiſher* the Jeſuit, which like a Hammer hath beaten all the *Romiſh* Arguments into pieces, an unanſwerable Work, and of which, they will never clear themſelves,

ſelves, brag and vapour what they pleaſe. As to his Religion this will ſuffice; for the morality and integrity, conſtant tenour of life, let him be judged by his Diary, publiſhed in part by Mr. *Prin.* He had little intermiſſion of his pen or intention of mind againſt the *Roman* Faction, whatſoever his Enemies have reported of him to the contrary, having before his eyes, as his main aim, the glory and proſperity of this Church, in the right and ſolemn Worſhip of God.

He firſt began the reedifying of that ruinous and decayed Cathedral of St. *Pauls London*, towards the charge whereof, he expended great ſums of money out of his own purſe, and this was reckoned to him as Superſtition, though in the account of ſober and wiſe men, it was a noble zeal to Gods Houſe. The North-door of that Church he repaired wholly with his own money, the Workmen not knowing whence their wages came.

In ſum, for theſe joynt Graces and Vertues, Piety, Learning, magnificence, prudence, and humility, he is hardly to be paralled by any of his Predeceſſors; many have had one or two of them, but wanted the other, in him they were a bright conſtellation,

ſtellation, whoſe luſtre made this Church glorious, to the envy and wonder of the Nations about us.

But the time of Gods viſitation being come, for the unfruitfulneſſe, negligence and unthankfulneſſe of the Clergy, a generation of men were raiſed up as ſcourges, to inflict the Divine Judgments. For in the beginning of our diſſentions, as ſoon as the buſineſſe of the Earl of *Strafford* was over, the mad multitude fell a raving and crying no Biſhops, no Biſhops. In the beginning of the year 1641, and the latter end of 1640, this Reverend Prelate was committed from the Black Rod to the Tower, whither not long after ten more of that ſacred Order, were ſent after him; He continued in the Tower four years, before any charge was brought againſt him, though he all along petitioned and deſired the Parliament he might come to his tryal, which could not be obtained till the year 1644, a full account whereof, as alſo of his death we have here ſubjoyned.

It would trouble *Plutarch*, (if he were alive,) to find out a fit *Parallel* with whom to match him. All therefore I ſhall do at the preſent time, (and tis the laſt publique Office I ſhall do him) is, to lay down

down the ſtory of his *death* and *ſufferings*, together with a view of thoſe *plots* and *practiſes* which were ſet on foot, to pluck a few years from a weak old man, and bring him to an unnatural calamitous end. For though that *maxime* in *Philoſophy* is moſt true and certain; that *corruptio eſt in inſtanti*, that death comes to us in a *moment*, or *in the twinckling of an eye*, as the Scriptures phraſe is; yet are there many *previous diſpoſitions* which make way unto it; all which are comprehended in the name of *death*. And in that latitude of expreſſion do we take the word, in laying down the ſtory of his *death* before you; which being writ out of an honeſt zeal to truth, and a ſincere affection to his name and memory, ſhall either be approved of, or at leaſt excuſed.

It was the practice and poſition of the antient *Donatiſts*, (the Predeceſſors and Progenitors of the modern *Puritan*) *occidere quemcunq; qui contra eos fecerit*; to kill and make away whoever durſt oppoſe their doings, or was conceived to be an hindrance to their growing faction. And by this *Card* their followers in theſe Kingdoms have been *ſteered* of late, impriſoning and deſtroying all who have ſtood againſt

againſt them. It is long ſince they entertained ſuch deſperate purpoſes againſt the life and perſon of the Lord Arch-Biſhop, threatnig his death in ſcattered Libels, tellig him *that his life was ſought for*, that *neither God nor man could endure ſo vile a Counſellor to live any longer.* This was about the end of *March* 1629, and was the *Prologue* to thoſe *libels*, full of threats and ſcandals, which year by year exaſperated and inflamed the People, till they had made them ripe for miſchief, and readily prepared to execute whatever their grand Directors ſhould ſuggeſt unto them. Saint *Paul* did never fight more frequent and more terrible combats with the *beaſts of Epheſus*, for the promotion of the Goſpel, then he with theſe untractable and fiery ſpirits, who moſt ſeditiouſly oppoſed his religious purpoſes of ſetling *unity* and *uniformity* in this Church of *England.* And in this ſtate things ſtood till the year, 1640, in which not only many factious and ſeditious People in and about the City of *London*, made an aſſault by night on his Houſe at *Lambeth*, with an intent to murther him, had they found him there: but the whole faction of the *Scots* declared in a *Remonſtrance* to the *Engliſh* Nation, that one of the

the chief cauſes which induced them to invade this Realm, was to remove him from his Majeſty, and bring him to the puniſhment which he had deſerved. The manner of their coming hither, and the great entertainment given them by the faction here, ſhewed plainly that they were not like to be ſent away without their *Errand:* and makes it evident that his ruine was reſolved on in their *ſecret Councils*, before the Parliament was called, or that they had declared ſo much by their *will revealed*.

The *Parliament* had not long continued, but he is named for an *Incendiary* by the *Scottiſh Commiſſioners*, and thereupon accuſed of Treaſon by the *Houſe of Commons*. And although no particular *Charge* was brought againſt him, but only a bare promiſe to prepare it in convenient time; yet was he preſently committed to the cuſtody of the *Gentleman Uſher*, and by him kept in durance till the end of *February*, (being full ten weeks; about which time his Charge was brought unto the *Lords*, but in generals only, and longer time required for particular inſtances. And yet upon this *Lydford law*, by which they uſed to hang men firſt, and endite them afterwards,) was he committed to the *Tower*, being

being followed almoſt all the way by the Raſcal multitude, who barbarouſly purſued him with reproaches and clamours to the very gates; and there detained, contrary to all Law and Juſtice, almoſt four years longer. This was the firſt great breach which was made by *Parliament* in the *liberties* of the *Engliſh* Subject; (ſave that their like proceedings with the Earl of *Strafford*, was a preparative unto it;) and was indeed the very *gap*, at which the *ſlavery* and *oppreſſion*, under which this miſerable Nation hath for many years pined and languiſhed, did break in. What right could meaner perſons look for, when as ſo great a *Peer* was doomed to ſo long impriſonment, without being called to his Anſwer?

But yet the malice of his Enemies was not ſo contented. For though ſome of the more moderate (or rather the leſſe violent) *Lords*, who did not pierce into the depth of the deſign, gave out that they intended only to remove him from his Majeſties eare, and to deprive him of his *Arch-Biſhoprick*, (which reſolution notwithſtanding being taken up before any charge was brought againſt him, was as unjuſt though not ſo cruel, as the others:) yet they

ſhewed

ſhewed only by this *Overture*, that they did reckon without their Hoſts, and might be of the *Court*, perchance, but not of the *Counſel*. The leading and predominant party thought of nothing leſſe, then that he ſhould eſcape with *life*, or go off with *liberty*. Only perhaps they might conceive ſome wicked hopes, that either the tediouſneſſe of his reſtraint, or the indignities and affronts which, day by day, were offer'd to him, would have broken his heart, not formerly accuſtomed to the like oppreſſions. And then like *Pilate* in the Goſpel they had called for *water*, *and waſhed their hands before the multitude, and ſaid, that they were innocent of the blood of that righteous perſon*: thinking that by ſuch wretched *figg-leaves*, they could not only hide their wickedneſſe, and *deceive* poor men; but that *God* alſo might be mocked, and his All-ſeeing eie deluded, to which *all hearts* lye *open*, *all deſires* are *known*, *and from which no ſecrets can be hidden*. To this end not content to immute him up within the walls of the *Tower*, they robb him of his *menial* ſervants, reſtrain him to two only of his number, and thoſe not to have conference with any others, but in the preſence of his *Warder*: and in concluſion make him

him a *close Prisoner*, not suffering him to go out of his lodging to refresh himself, but in the company of his *Keeper*. And all this while they vex his Soul continually with scandalous and infamous Papers, and set up factious and seditious Preachers to inveigh against him in the Pulpit to his very face; so to expose him to the scorn both of boyes and women, who many times stood up and turned towards him, to observe his countenance, to see if any alteration did appear therein. And to the same ungodly end, did they divest him of his *Archiepiscopal and Episcopal* jurisdiction, conferring it on his inferiour and subordinate Officers; sequester his rents under pretence of maintenance for the Kings younger Children (as if his Majesties Revenues which they had invaded, were not sufficient for that purpose,) convert his House at *Lambeth* into a Prison, and confiscate all his coals and fewel to the use of their Gaoler; deprive him of his right of *Patronage*, and take into their own hands the disposing of all his *Benefices*; seize upon all his goods and books which they found at *Lambeth*; and in conclusion, rifle him of his notes and papers, not only such as were of ordinary use and observation, but such

as did concern him in the way of his juſt *defence*. In which they did not any thing from the firſt to the laſt, but in a proud *defiance* to the Laws of the Land, which they moſt impudently violated in all theſe particulars: and more than ſo, they had proceeded ſtep by ſtep, to this height of tyranny a whole year almoſt, before they had digeſted their general charge into particular Accuſations; or ever called him to his Anſwer in due form of Law.

5. But God had given him ſuch a meaſure both of ſtrength and patience, that theſe afflictions, though moſt great and irkſome, did make no more impreſſions on him, than an Arrow on a rock of *Adamant*. For at his firſt commitment he beſought his God, (as Maſter *Pryn* obſerves out of his *Manual of devotions*) to *give him full patience, proportionable comfort, and contentment with whatſoever he ſhould ſend*; and he was heard in that he prayed for. For notwithſtanding that he had fed ſo long on the *bread of carefulneſſe*, and drank the *water of affliction*: yet, as the Scripture telleth us of the *four Hebrew children, his countenance appeared fairer and fatter in fleſh, than any of thoſe who ate their portion of the Kings meat, or drank of his wine*. And he was

wont to ſay to his private friends, that, he *thanked God, he never found more ſweet contentment in his greateſt liberty, than in the time of that reſtraint.* And certainly it was no wonder that it ſhould be ſo, he being conſcious to himſelf of no other *crimes*, which drew that fatal ſtorm upon him, than a religious *zeal to the honour of God, the happineſſe of the King, and the preſervation of the Church in her peace and patrimony*, as he profeſſed at his death before all the People. So that deſpairing of ſucceſſe in the way intended, his Enemies fell upon another, but more deſperate courſe, which was to ſhip him for *New-England*, and make him ſubject to the inſolencies of *Wels* and *Peters*, two notorious *Schiſmaticks*. But this being put to the queſtion in the Houſe of *Commons*, was rejected by the *major* part: not out of pity to his age, or conſideration of his quality, nor in reſpect unto the Laws ſo often violated; but to preſerve him yet a while, as a ſtale or property, wherewith to cheat the *Citizens* of ſome further ſums, and to invite the *Scots* to a new invaſion, when their occaſion ſo required. For it was little doubted by diſcerning men, but that the *Scots*, who made their firſt invaſion on a probable hope

of ſequeſtring the Lord Arch-biſhop and the Earl of *Strafford* from His Majeſties Counſels; and ſped it ſo well in their deſign, that they were recompenſed already with the death of the one, would eaſily be tempted to a ſecond journey, upon aſſurance to be glutted with the blood of the other.

6. And this appears more plain and evident, in that about the coming on of the *Scots*, which was in the middeſt of *January* 1643. they did again revive the buſineſſe, which had long lain *dormant*; cauſing the *Articles*, which they had framed in maintenance of their former *Accuſation*, to be put in Print about that time, as is apparent by the *Teſt* of *John Brown* their Clerk, dated the 17 of that moneth. And as the *Scots* advanced or ſlackned in their *marches* Southward, ſo did they either quicken or retard the work: till hearing of the great ſucceſſes which they had in *Yorkſhire*, they gave command to Maſter *Pryn to proſecute the charge againſt him, and bring him to his long expected trial*; as he reports it of himſelf, who, having rifled him of his Papers, and thereby robbed him of thoſe helps, which he had purpoſely reſerved for his juſt defence; and having perſonal quarrels

quarrels of his own to revenge upon him, was thought to be the fitteſt *blood-hound* in the whole kennel, to purſue the ſcent. And now there was no talk but of quick diſpatch. When *hatred* doth accuſe, and *malice* proſecute, and prejudice and *prepoſſeſſion* ſit upon the *Bench*, God help the innocent; There's nothing but a miracle can preſerve him then. And ſo it proved in the event. They called him after to the *Bar*, both before and after, cauſed a ſtrict inquiſition to be made into all his actions: they *winnowed* him like *wheat*, and *ſifted* him to the very bran, (which was you know the Devils office;) they had againſt him all advantages of power and malice, and witneſſes at hand upon all occaſions: but ſtill they found his anſwers and his reſolutions of ſo good a temper, his innocence and integrity of ſo bright a die, that as they knew not how to diſmiſſe him with credit, ſo neither could they find a way to condemn him with Juſtice. And though their Conſciences could tell them, that he had done nothing which deſerved either *death* or *bonds*; yet either to reward or oblige the *Scots*, who would not think themſelves ſecure whilſt his head was on, they were reſolved to bring him to a ſpeedy end. Only

they did deſire, if poſſible, to lay the *Odium* of the murther upon the common People. And therefore Serjeant *Wilde* in a ſpeech againſt him, having aggravated his ſuppoſed offences to the higheſt pitch, concluded thus, that *he was guilty of ſo many and notorious treaſons, ſo evidently deſtructive to the Commonwealth, that he marvelled the People did not tear him in pieces as he paſſed between his barge, and the Parliament Houſes.* Which barbarous and bloudy project, when it would not take, and that though many of the Rabble did deſire his death, yet none would be the executioner; they then imployed ſome of their moſt malicious and moſt active inſtruments, to go from door to door, and from man to man, to get hands againſt him; and ſo petition thoſe to haſten his condemnation, which muſt, forſooth, be forced to their own deſires: (whereof, and of the *Magiſtrates ſtanding ſtill, and ſuffering them to proceed* without any check, he gave them a *memento* in his dying Speech.) This being obtained, the buſineſſe was purſued with ſuch heat and violence, that by the beginning of *November*, it was made ready for a Sentence; which ſome conceived would have been given in the Kings Bench, and that their proofs

proofs (such as they were) being fully ripened, he should have been put over to a *Middlesex Jury*. But they were only some poor Ignorants which conceived so of it. The leading members of the plot thought of no such matter; and to say truth, it did concern them highly not to go that way. For though there was no question to be made at all, but that they could have packed a *Jury* to have found the Bill; yet by a clause in the *Attainder* of the Earl of *Strafford* they had bound the Judges not to declare their facts for Treason in the time to come, for which they had condemned and executed that Heroick Peer. And therefore it was done with great care and caution to proceed by Ordinance, and vote him guilty first in the House of Commons; in which being parties, witnesses, and Judges too, they were assured to passe it as they would themselves, which was done accordingly, about the 20 of *November*.

But yet the businesse was not done, for the Lords stuck at it. Some of which having not extinguished all the sparks of honour, did by the light thereof discover the injustice of so foul a practice; together with the danger might befal themselves,

if once disfavoured by the *Grandees* of that potent Faction. A thing ſo ſtomacked by the Commons, that after ſome evaporations of their heat and paſſion, which broke out into open threats, they preſently drew, and ſent up an Ordinance to the Lords, tending to diſpoſſeſſe them of all power and command in their Armies. But fearing this device was too weak to hold, they fall upon another and a likelier project, which was to bring the *Lords* to ſit in the *Commons* Houſe; where they were ſure they ſhould be inconſiderable both for power and number. And to effect the ſame with more ſpeed and certainty, they had recourſe to their old Arts, drew down Sir *David Watkins* with his *general muſter* of ſubſcriptions, and put a petition in his hands, to be tendred by him to the *Houſes*, that is, themſelves: wherein it was required among other things, that they would vigorouſly proceed unto the *puniſhment of all Delinquents*; and that for the more quick diſpatch of the publick buſineſſes of the State, the *Lords* would pleaſe to *vote* and *ſit* together with the *Commons*. On ſuch uncertain terms, ſuch a tickliſh *Tenure* do they now hold their place and power in *Parliament*; who ſo officiouſly complied

plied with the *House of Commons*, in depriving the *Bishops* of their *Votes* and the *Churches* birth-right. And this was it which helped them in that time of need. For by this (though stale and common) Stratagem did they prevail so far upon some weak spirits, that the Earls of *Kent*, *Pembroke*, *Salisbury*, and *Bullingbrooke*, the Lords *North*, *Gray* of *Wark* and *Brews*, (a *Scotchman*, but an *English* Baron, and generally called the Earl of *Elgin*) resolved to yield unto the current of so strong a stream: and thought they had made a gaining voyage, if by delivering the Lord *Arch-Bishop* to the Peoples fury, they might preserve themselves in the Peoples favour. And we know well, both who it was, and what end he came to, who though he *knew* that the *accused party was delivered him out of envy* only, and that he found no *evil* he was guilty of; yet being wearied with the clamours and the *Crucifiges* of the common people, and fearing that some *tumult* would be made about it, *delivered him unto his enemies* to be put to death. And for those other *Lords* who withdrew themselves, and neither durst *condemn* nor *protect the innocent*; (though far the *major* part, as it is reported) it is not easie to determin, whe-

ther their conſciences were more tender, their Colluſion groſſer, or their courage weaker. All I ſhall ſay is only this, that *Claudius Lyſias* in the *Acts*, had been as guilty of Saint *Paul*'s death, as any of the *forty* who had *vowed to kill him*; if upon notice of the Plot which was laid to murther him, he had *brought him down unto the people*, or not conveied him with a ſtrong guard to the Court of *Felix*. The journies end muſt needs be foul, which ſuch lewd and crooked waies do conduct unto. And it is worth your obſervation, that the ſame day, the fourth of *January*, in which they paſſed this *bloody Ordinance*, (as if therein they would cry quittance with his Sacred Majeſty, who on the ſame accuſed the ſix guilt Members) they paſſed another for eſtabliſhing their new *Directory*; which in effect was nothing but a total abolition of the Common-Prayer-Book: and thereby ſhewed unto the World, how little hopes they had of ſetling their new form of Worſhip, if the foundation of it were not laid in blood.

The *Bill* being thus diſpatched in the Houſe of *Lords*, (if ſtill they may be called *Lords*, which are ſo *over-loaded* by the Common people) there wanted yet the Kings

Kings *Aſſent* to give life to it: which they ſo far contemned, (they had more reaſon to deſpair of it) that they never ſought it. They had ſcrewed up their *Ordinances* to ſo high a pitch, that never *Act* of *Parliament* was of more authority: and having found the Subjects ſo obedient, as to yield unto them in matters which concerned them in their *goods* and *liberties*; it was but one ſtep more to make trial of them, whether they would ſubmit their lives to the ſelf-ſame tyranny: And this they made the firſt experiment in this kind, both of their own *power*, and the peoples *patience*; he being the *firſt man*, as himſelf noted in his Speech (which words are purpoſely omitted in *Hindes* Copy of it;) *that was* ever put to death by *Ordinance* in Parliament; but was not the laſt, as we have too ſadly experienced. Certain it is, that by that *Ordinance* they then made themſelves the abſolute Maſter of the Subjects *lives*, and left them nothing that they could call their own, but ruine and deſtruction. Juſt as it was obſerved by our Gracious Soveraign, upon occaſion of the *Ordinance* for the 20th *part*, that *the ſame power which robbed the Subject of the twentieth part of their Eſtates*,

Eſtates, had by that only made a claim and entituled it ſelf to the other nineteen, *when ſoever it ſhould be thought expedient to haſten on the general ruin.* In which His Majeſty proved but too true a *Prophet.* And though perhaps ſome of the people were well pleaſed with this bloody *Ordinance*, and ran with joy to ſee it put in *execution*; yet all wiſe men did look upon it as the laſt groan or gaſp of our dying *liberty.* And let both them and thoſe who paſſed it, be aſſured of this, that they who did ſo gladly *ſell* the blood of their fellow Subjects, ſeldom want *Chapmen* for their own in an open *Market.*

And here, as it was once obſerved, that the predominant Party of the *United Provinces*, to bring about their ends in the death of *Barnevelt*, ſubverted all thoſe *fundamental Laws* of the *Belgick liberty*; for maintenance whereof they took up Arms againſt *Philip* the Second, ſo would I know which of thoſe *Fundamental Laws* of the *Engliſh* Government have not been violated by theſe men in their whole proceedings; for preſervation of which Laws (or rather under colour of ſuch preſervation) they did bewitch the people unto that Rebellion: It is a *Fundamental Law* of the

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Engliſh Government, and the firſt Article in the *Magna Charta*, that the Church of *England ſhall be free, and ſhall have her whole Rights and Priviledges inviolable*: yet to make way unto the condemnation of this innocent man, and other the like wicked and ungodly ends, the Biſhops muſt be Voted out of their place in Parliament, which moſt of them had held far longer in their Predeceſſors, than any of our noble families in their Progenitors. And if the *Lords* refuſe to give way unto it (as at firſt they did) the people muſt come down to the Houſe in multitudes, and cry, *No Biſhops, no Biſhops*, at the Parliament doors, till by the terror of their tumults they extort it from them. It is a *Fundamental Law* of the *Engliſh* liberty, that no *Free-man ſhall be taken or impriſoned without cauſe ſhewn*, or *be detained* without being *brought unto his Anſwer in due form of Law*: yet here we ſaw a Freeman impriſoned ten whole weeks together, before any Charge was brought againſt him; and kept in priſon three years more, before his general Accuſation was by them reduced into particulars; and for a year almoſt *detained* cloſe priſoner, without being *brought unto his anſwer*, as the Law requires. It is a

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Fundamental Law of the *Engliſh* Government, that *no man be diſſeiſed of his Freehold or Liberties*, but by the known *Laws of the Land*: yet here was a man *diſſeiſed* of his Rents and Lands, ſpoyled of his Goods, deprived of his *juriſdiction*, deveſted of his Right and Patronage; and all this done, when he was ſo far from being convicted by the Laws of the Land, that no particular charge was ſo much as thought of. It is a *Fundamental Law* of the *Engliſh* Liberty, that *no man ſhall be condemned, or put to death, but by lawful judgment of his* Peers, *or by the Law of the Land*, i. e. in the ordinary way of a legal tryal: and ſure an *Ordinance* of both Houſes, without the *Royal Aſſent*, is no part of the Law of *England*, nor held an ordinary way of trial for the *Engliſh* ſubject, or ever reckoned to be ſuch in the former times. And finally, it is a *Fundamental Law* in the *Engliſh* Government, that *if any other caſe* (than thoſe recited in the Statute of King *Edward* 3.) *which is ſuppoſed to be* Treaſon, *do happen before any of his Majeſties* Juſtices, *the* Juſtices *ſhall tarry without giving judgment, till the cauſe be ſhewn and declared before the* King, *and His* Parliament, *whether it ought to be judged* Treaſon *or not*: yet here we had

had a new found *Treason*, never known before, nor declared such by any of His Majesties *Justices*, nor ever brought to be considered of by the *King and His Parliament*, but only *voted* to be such by some of those few *Members* which remained at *Westminster*, who were resolved to have it so for their private ends. Put all which hath been said together, and then tell me truly, if there by any difference (for I see not any) between the ancient *Roman slaves* and the once *Free-born Subjects* of the *English* Nation, whose *lives* and *liberties*, whose *goods* and *fortunes* depend on the meer pleasure of their *mighty Masters*.

But to return unto our Story, the passing of the *Ordinance* being made known unto him, he neither entertained the news with a *Stoical Apathy*, nor wailed his Fate with weak and womanish Lamentations (to which Extreams most men are carried in this case) but heard it with so even and so smooth a temper, as shewed he neither was afraid to live, nor ashamed to die. The time between the Sentence and the Execution, he spent in Prayers and applications to the Lord his God; having obtained, though not without some difficulty, a Chaplain of his own, to attend upon him, and to assist

aſſiſt him in the work of his preparation: though little preparation needed to receive that Blow, which could not but be welcom, becauſe long expected. For ſo well was he ſtudied in the Art of dying (eſpecially in the laſt and ſtricteſt part of his Impriſonment) that by continual Faſting, Watching, Prayers, and ſuch like Acts of Chriſtian Humiliation, his fleſh was rarified into Spirit, and the whole man ſo fitted for eternal Glories, that he was more then half in heaven, before death brought his bloudy (but triumphant) Chariot to convey him thither. He that had been ſo long a *Confeſſor*, could not but think it a releaſe of miſeries to be made a *Martyr*. And as it is recorded of *Alexander* the great, that the night before his beſt and greateſt Battel with *Darius* the *Perſian*, he fell into ſo ſound a ſleep, that his Princes hardly could awake him when the Morning came; ſo it is certified of this great *Prelate*, that on the Evening before his *Paſſeover*, the night before the diſmal combat betwixt him and death, after he had refreſhed his ſpirits with a moderate Supper, he betook himſelf unto his reſt, and ſlept very ſoundly, till the time came, in which his Servants were appointed to attend his Riſing, a moſt aſ-

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ſured ſign of a Soul prepared. The fatal morning being come, he firſt applied himſelf to his private Prayers, and ſo continued, till *Penington*, and other of their publick Officers came to conduct him to the Scaffold: which he aſcended with ſo brave a courage, ſuch a cheerful countenance, as if he had mounted rather to behold a triumph, then to be made a Sacrifice, and came not there to die, but to be tranſlated. And to ſay Truth, it was no Scaffold, but a Throne, a Throne whereon he ſhortly was to receive a Crown, even the moſt glorious Crown of Martyrdom. And though ſome rude, uncivil people reviled him, as he paſſed along, with opprobrious Language, as loath to let him go to the Grave in peace, it never diſcompoſed his thoughts, nor diſturbed his patience. For he had profited ſo well in the School of Chriſt, *that when he was reviled, he reviled not again, when he ſuffered, he threatned not, but committed his cauſe to him that judgeth righteouſly.* And as he did not fear the Frowns, ſo neither did he covet the applauſe of the vulgar Herd, and therefore rather choſe to read what he had to ſpeak unto the People, then to affect the Oſtentation either of memory or wit in that dreadful Agony; whether with greater

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Magnanimity or Prudence, I can hardly ſay. As for the matter of his Speech, beſides what did concern himſelf and his own purgation, his great care was to clear His Majeſty, and the Church of *England* from any inclination unto Popery; (with a perſwaſion of the which, the Authors of our then miſeries, had abuſed the People, and made them take up Arms againſt their Soveraign.) approving himſelf a faithful Servant to the laſt. By means whereof, as it is ſaid of *Samſon*, in the Book of *Judges*, that *the men which he ſlew at his death, were more then they which he ſlew in his Life*: ſo may it be affirmed of this famous Prelate, that he gave a greater blow unto the enemies of God and the King at the hour of his Death, then he had given them in his whole life before; But this you will more clearly ſee by the Speech it ſelf, which followeth here, according to the beſt and moſt perfect Copies.

The

The Speech of the L. Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, ſpoken at his Death, upon the *Scaffold* on the *Tower-hill*, Jan. 10. 1644.

Good People,

THis is an uncomfortable time to preach, yet I ſhall begin with a Text of Scripture, *Heb.* 12. 2. *Let us run with patience that Race which is ſet before us, looking unto Jeſus the Author and finiſher of our Faith, who for the Joy that was ſet before him, endured the Croſſe, deſpiſing the ſhame, and is ſet down at the right hand of the Throne of God.*

I have been long in my Race, and how I have looked to *Jeſus* the Author and Finiſher of my Faith, he beſt knowes: I am now come to the end of my Race, and here I find the Croſſe, a death of ſhame, but the ſhame muſt be deſpiſed, or no coming to the right hand of God; *Jeſus* deſpiſed the ſhame for me, and God forbid but I ſhould deſpiſe the ſhame for him: I am going apace (as you ſee) towards the Red Sea; and my feet are now upon the very Brink of it; an Argument, I hope, that God is bringing me into the Land of Promiſe,

miſe, for that was the way through which he led his People: But before they came to it, he inſtituted a Paſſeover for them, a Lamb it was, but it muſt be eaten with four herbs; I ſhall obey, and labour to digeſt the four herbs, as well as the Lamb. And I ſhall remember it is the Lords Paſſeover; I ſhall not think of the herbs, nor be angry with the hand which gathereth them; but look up only to him who inſtituted that, and governs theſe; For men can have no more power over me, then what is given them from above. I am not in love with this paſſage through the Red Sea, for I have the weakneſſe and infirmities of fleſh and bloud plentifully in me: and I have prayed with my Saviour, *ut tranſiret Calix iſte*, that this Cup of Red Wine might paſſe from me: But if not, Gods will (not mine) be done, and I ſhall moſt willingly drink of this Cup, as deep, as he pleaſes, and enter into this Sea, yea and paſſe through it, in the way that he ſhall lead me.

But I would have it remembred (good people) that when Gods Servants were in this boyſterous Sea, and *Aaron* among them, the *Egyptians* which perſecuted them (and did in a manner drive them into that Sea) were drowned in the ſame waters,

waters, while they were in purſuit of them: I know my God whom I ſerve, is as able to deliver me from this Sea of Bloud, as he was to deliver the Three Children from the Furnace; and (I moſt humbly thank my Saviour for it) my Reſolution is now, as theirs was then: They would not worſhip the Image the King had ſet up, nor will I the Imaginations which the people are ſetting up; nor will I forſake the Temple and the Truth of God, to follow the bleating of *Jeroboams* Calf, in *Dan* and *Bethel*. And as for this People, they are at this day miſerably miſled (God of his mercy open their eyes, that they may ſee the right way) for at this day the Blind lead the Blind, and if they go on, both will certainly fall into the Ditch. For my ſelf, I am (and I acknowledge it in all humility) a moſt grievous ſinner many waies, by thought, word, and deed, and I cannot doubt, but that God hath Mercy in ſtore for me (a poor Penitent) as well as for other ſinners; I have now upon this ſad occaſion, ranſacked every Corner of my heart, yet (& I thank God) I have not found (among the many) any one ſin which deſerves death by any known Law of this Kingdom: And yet hereby I charge nothing

thing upon my Judges; for if they proceed upon Proof (by valuable Witneſſes) I, or any other Innocent, may be juſtly condemned: And (I thank God) though the weight of the Sentence lie heavy upon me, I am as quiet within, as ever I was in my life. And though I am not only the firſt Archbiſhop, but the firſt man that ever died by an Ordinance of Parliament, yet ſome of my Predeceſſors have gone this way, though not by this means; For *Elphegus* was hurried away, and loſt his Head by the *Danes*; and *Simon Sudbury* in the Fury of *Wat Tyler* and his Fellows: Before theſe, St. *John Baptiſt* had his Head danced off by a Lewd Woman, and St. *Cyprian* Archbiſhop of *Carthage*, ſubmitted his Head to a perſecuting Sword. Many examples (great and good) and they teach me Patience: For I hope my Cauſe in Heaven will look of another Dye, then the colour that is put upon it here. And ſome comfort it is to me, not only that I go the way of theſe great men in their ſeveral generations, but alſo that my Charge (as foul as 'tis made) looks like that of the *Jews* againſt St. *Paul*, (Acts 25.3.) For he was accuſed for the Law and the Temple, *i. e.* Religion: And like that of S. *Stephen*, (*Acts*

(*Acts* 6. 14.) for breaking the Ordinances which *Moſes* gave, *i. e.* Law and Religion, the holy place and the Temple (*v.* 13.) But you will ſay, do I then compare my ſelf with the Integrity of St. *Paul*, and St. *Stephen*? No, far be that from me; I only raiſe a Comfort to my ſelf, that theſe great Saints and Servants of God were laid at in their times, as I am now. And 'tis memorable, that S. *Paul*, who helped on this Accuſation againſt S. *Stephen*, did after fall under the very ſame himſelf. Yea, but here is a great Clamour, that I would have brought in Popery: I ſhall anſwer that more fully by and by: In the mean time, you know what the Phariſees ſaid againſt Chriſt himſelf, *If we let him alone, all men will believe in him*, & venient Romani, *and the Romans will come, and take away both our Place and the Nation.* Here was a cauſeleſſe Cry againſt Chriſt that the *Romans will come*: And ſee how juſt the Judgment of God was; they crucified Chriſt, for fear leſt the *Romans* ſhould come, and his death was it, which brought in the *Romans* upon them; God puniſhing them with that which they moſt feared: And I pray God this Clamour of *venient Romani*, (of which I have given no cauſe) help not to bring them

them in; for the Pope never had ſuch a Harveſt in *England* ſince the Reformation, as he hath now upon the Sects and Diviſions that are amongſt us. In the mean time, *by honour and diſhonour, by good and evil report, as a Deceiver, and yet true*, am I paſſing through this world, 2 *Cor.*6.8.----Some Particulars alſo I think it not amiſs to ſpeak of.

And firſt, this I ſhall be bold to ſpeak of the King our Gracious Soveraign, He hath been much traduced for bringing in of Popery; but on my Conſcience, (of which I ſhall give God a very preſent account) I know Him to be as free from this Charge, as any man living: and I hold him to be as ſound a Proteſtant (according to the Religion by Law eſtabliſhed) as any man in this Kingdom; and that he will venture his Life as far and as freely for it; and I think I do, or ſhould know, both His affection to Religion, and His Grounds for it, as fully as any man in *England*.

The ſecond Particular is concerning this great and Populous City, (which God bleſs.) Here hath been of late, a faſhion taken up, to gather hands, and then to go to the Great Court of this Kingdom (the Parliament) and clamour for Juſtice, as if

if that great and wiſe Court, before whom the Cauſes come, (which are unknown to the many) could not, or would not do Juſtice, but at their appointment. A way, which may endanger many an *Innocent* man, and pluck his bloud upon their own heads, and perhaps upon the Cities alſo: And this hath been lately practiſed againſt my ſelf; [*the Magiſtrate ſtanding ſtill, and ſuffering them openly to proceed from Pariſh to Pariſh without check*;] God forgive the ſetters of this (with all my heart I beg it) but many well meaning People are caught by it. In St. *Stephens* caſe, when nothing elſe would ſerve, *they ſtirred up the people againſt him*; and *Herod* went the ſame way, when he had killed St. *James*, yet he would not venter upon St. *Peter*, till he found how the other *pleaſed the people*. But take heed of having your *hands full of bloud*, for there is a time (beſt known to himſelf) when God (above other ſins) *makes Inquiſition for bloud*, and when that Inquiſition is on foot, the Pſalmiſt tells us, *That God remembers* (but that's not all) *He remembers and forgets not the Complaint of the Poor*, that is, whoſe bloud is ſhed by oppreſſion, *verſ.* 9. take heed of this, *'Tis a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living*

God, but then eſpecially, *when he is making Inquiſition for bloud*; And (with my Prayers to avert it) I do heartily deſire this City to remember the Propheſie that is expreſſed, *Jer.* 26. 15.

The third particular is the poor Church of *England*. It hath flouriſhed and been a ſhelter to other neighbouring Churches, when ſtorms have driven upon them. But, alas, now 'tis in a ſtorm it ſelf, and God only knows whether, or how it ſhall get out: and (which is worſe than a ſtorm from without) its become like an Oak cleft to ſhivers with wedges made out of its own body, and at every cleft prophaneneſſe and irreligion is entring in, while as *Proſper* ſpeaks (in his ſecond Book *De vitâ contemptu*, *cap.* 4.) *Men that introduce prophaneneſſe are cloaked over with the name* Religionis Imaginariæ, *of Imaginary Religion*: for we have loſt the Subſtance, and dwell too much in Opinion, and that Church which all the Jeſuits machinations could not ruine, is fallen into danger by her own.

The laſt particular (for I am not willing to be too long) is my ſelf: I was born and baptized in the boſome of the Church of *England* eſtabliſhed by Law; in that profeſſion

feſſion I have ever ſince lived, and in that I come now to dye: This is no time to diſſemble with God, leaſt of all in matter of Religion, and therefore I deſire it may be remembred. I have alwaies lived in the Proteſtant Religion, eſtabliſhed in *England*, and in that I come now to dye. What Clamours and Slanders I have endured for labouring to keep a Uniformity in the external ſervice of God, according to the Doctrine and Diſcipline of this Church, all men know, and I have abundantly felt.

Now at laſt I am accuſed of *High Treaſon* in Parliament: a Crime which my Soul ever abhorred; this Treaſon was charged to conſiſt of theſe two parts, *An endeavour to ſubvert the Laws of the Land*, and alike *Endeavour to overthrow the true Proteſtant Religion Eſtabliſhed by Law.* Beſides my anſwers to the ſeveral Charges, I proteſted my Innocency in both Houſes. *It was ſaid, Priſoners* Proteſtations at the Bar muſt not be taken. I can bring no witneſſe of my heart, and the intentions thereof, therefore I muſt come to my Proteſtation not at the Bar, but my Proteſtation at this hour, and inſtant of my death; in which I hope all men will be ſuch charita-

ble Chriſtians, as not to think I would dye and diſſemble, being inſtantly to give God an account for the truth of it: I do therefore in the preſence of *God*, and his holy Angels take it upon my death, That I never endeavoured the ſubverſion either of Law or Religion: and I deſire you all to remember this Proteſt of mine for my Innocencie, in theſe, and from all Treaſons, whatſoever. I have been accuſed likewiſe as an Enemy to Parliaments: No, I underſtand them and the benefit that comes by them too well to be ſo: But I did miſlike the miſgovernment of ſome Parliaments many waies, and I had good reaſon for it: For *Corruptio optimi eſt peſſima*, there is no corruption in the World ſo bad, as that which is of the beſt thing in it ſelf; for the better the thing is in nature, the worſe it is corrupted. And that being the higheſt Court, over which no other have Juriſdiction, when 'tis miſ-informed or miſ-governed, the Subject is left without all remedy. But I have done, I forgive all the World, all and every of thoſe bitter Enemies which have perſecuted me, and humbly deſire to be forgiven of God firſt, and then of every man, whether I have offended him or not, if he do but conceive

that

that I have. Lord do thou forgive me, and I beg forgiveneſſe of him. And ſo I heartily deſire you to joyn in Prayer with me.

O Eternal God and merciful Father, look down upon me in mercy, in the riches and fulneſſe of all thy mercies look upon me; but not till thou haſt nailed my ſins to the Croſſe of Chriſt, not till thou haſt bathed me in the bloud of Chriſt, not till I have hid my ſelf in the wounds of Chriſt: that ſo the puniſhment due unto my ſins may paſſe over me. And ſince thou art pleaſed to try me to the utmoſt, I humbly beſeech thee, give me now in this great inſtant, full Patience, proportionable Comfort, and a heart ready to dye for thy Honour, the Kings happineſſe, and this Churches preſervation. And my zeal to theſe (far from arrogance be it ſpoken) is all the ſin (humane frailty excepted, and all incidents thereto,) which is yet known to me in this particular, for which I now come to ſuffer; I ſay in this particular of *Treaſon*; but otherwiſe my ſins are many and great: Lord pardon them all, and thoſe eſpecially (what ever they are) which have drawn down this preſent Judgment

upon me: and when thou haſt given me ſtrength to bear it, do with me as ſeems beſt in thine own eyes: and carry me through death that I may look upon it in what viſage ſoever it ſhall appear to me, *Amen.* And that there may be a ſtop of this iſſue of bloud, in this more than miſerable Kingdom, (*I ſhall deſire that I may pray for the people too, as well as for my ſelf*) O Lord, I beſeech thee, give grace of repentance to all Bloud thirſty people; but if they will not repent, O Lord, confound all their deviſes, Defeat and Fruſtrate all their deſigns and endeavours upon them, which are or ſhall be contrary to the Glory of thy great Name, the truth and ſincerity of Religion, the eſtabliſhment of the King and His Poſterity after Him in their juſt Rights and Priviledges, the Honour and Conſervation of Parliaments in their juſt power, the Preſervation of this poor Church in her Truth, Peace, and Patrimony, and the ſettlement of this diſtracted and diſtreſſed People under their ancient Laws, and in their native Liberties. And when thou haſt done all this in meer mercy for them, O Lord, fill their hearts with thankfulneſſe, and with Religious dutiful-obedience to thee and thy Commandments,

ments all their daies: So *Amen*, Lord Jesus, *Amen*, and receive my Soul into thy Bosome, *Amen.*

Our Father which art, &c.

The Speech and Prayers being ended, he gave the Paper which he red unto Dr. *Sterne* his Chaplain, now Lord Bishop of *Carliſle*, desiring him to shew it his other Chaplains, that they might know how he departed out of this World, and so prayed God to shew his mercies and blessings on them. And noting how one *Hinde* had employed himself in taking a Copy of his *Speech* as it came from his mouth; he desired him not to *do him wrong* in publishing a false or imperfect Copy, Which as *Hinde* promised him to be careful of, calling for punishment from above if he should do otherwise, so hath he reasonably well performed his promise: he next applied himself to the *fatal Block*, as to the Haven of his rest. But finding the way full of people, who had placed themselves upon the *Theatre* to behold the *Tragedy*, he desired *he might have room to dye*, beseeching them to let *him have an end of his miseries, which he had endured very long.* All which he did with so serene and calm a

mind, as if he had been rather taking order for another mans funeral, then making way unto his own. Being come near the *Block*, he put off his doublet, and uſed ſome words to this effect. *Gods will be done, I am willing to go out of this World, no man can be more willing to ſend me out of it.* And ſeeing through the chinks of the boards that ſome people were got under the *Scaffold*, about the very place where the *Block* was ſeated, he called on the Officers for ſome duſt to ſtop them, or to remove the people thence, ſaying it was no part of his deſires, that *his blood ſhould fall upon the heads of the People.* Never did man put off mortality with a braver courage, nor look upon his bloudy and malitious Enemies with more *Chriſtian* charity. And thus far he was gone in his way towards *Paradiſe* with ſuch a Primitive magnanimity, as equalled, if not exceeded the example of ancient Martyrs.

Then he turned towards his *Executioner* and gave him money, ſaying, without the leaſt diſtemper or change of countenance, *here, honeſt friend, God forgive thee, and do thy office upon me with mercy*, and having given a ſign when the blow ſhould come, he kneeled down upon his knees, and prayed as followeth. The

The Lord Arch-Biſhops Prayer, as he kneeled by the Block.

LOrd, I am coming as faſt as I can, I know I muſt paſs through the ſhadow of death, before I can come to ſee thee. But it is but umbra mortis, *a meer ſhadow of death, a little darkneſſe upon nature; but thou by thy merits and paſſion haſt broke through the jaws of death. So, Lord receive my Soul, and have mercy upon me, and bleſſe this Kingdom with Peace and Plenty, and with brotherly love and charity, that there may not be this effuſion of Chriſtian blood amongſt them, for* Jeſus Chriſt's *ſake, if it be thy will.* Then laying his head upon the *Block*, and praying ſilently to himſelf, he ſaid aloud, *Lord receive my Soul*, which was the ſignal given to the *Executioner*, who very dextrouſly did his office, and took it off at a blow, his Soul aſcending on the wings of Angels into *Abrahams boſome*, and leaving his *Body* on the *Scaffold*, to the care of men, after he had lived 71 years, 13 weeks, and 4 dayes, which was interd in *Alhallows Barkin* Church, with the decent Ceremonies of the Church of *England*.

On the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*.

I Need no muſe to give my paſſion vent,
He brews his tears that ſtudies to lament.
Verſe chymically weeps; that pious raine
Diſtill'd with Art, is but the ſweat o'th brain,
Who ever ſob'd in numbers? can a groan
Be quaver'd out by ſoft diviſion?
Tis true, for common formal Ellegies,
Not Buſhels *Wells can match a Poets eyes*
In wanton water-works: hee'l turn his tears
From a Geneva *jig up to the Sphears,*
But when he mourns at diſtance, weeps aloof.
Now that the Conduit-head is our own roof,
Now that the fate is publick we may call
It Britaines *Veſpers*, Englands *Funeral.*
Who hath a Penſil to expreſs the Saint,
Put he hath eyes too, waſhing off the paint?
There is no learning but what tears ſurround
Like to Seths *Pillars in the Deluge drown'd.*
There is no Church, Religion is grown
From much of late, that ſhe's increaſt to none;
Like an Hydropick body full of Rheumes,
Firſt ſwells into a bubble, then conſumes.
The Law is dead, or caſt into a trance,
And by a Law dough-bak't, an Ordinance.
The Lyturgie, *whoſe doom was voted next,*
Died as a Comment upon Him the Text.

There

There nothing lives, life is, ſince he is gone,
But a Nocturnal Lucubration.
Thus have you ſeen Deaths Inventory read
In the ſum total —— Canterburies dead.
A ſight would make a Pagan to baptize
Himſelf a Convert in his bleeding eyes.
Would thaw the rabble that fierce beaſt of ours,
(That which Agena*-like weeps and devours)*
Tears that flow brackiſh from their Souls within
Not to repent, but pickle up their ſin.
Mean time no ſquallid grief his look defiles,
He guilds his ſadder fate with noble ſmiles.
Thus the worlds eye with reconciled ſtreams
Shines in his ſhowers, as if he wept his beams.
How could ſucceſs ſuch villanies applaud?
The State in Strafford *fell, the Church in* Laud:
The twins of publick rage adjudg'd to dye,
For Treaſons they ſhould act by Prophecy.
The facts were done before the Laws were made,
The trump turn'd up after the game was plaid.
Be dull great ſpirits and forbear to climbe,
For worth is ſin and eminence a crime;
No Church-man can be innocent and high,
'Tis height makes Grantham *ſteeple ſtand awry.*

Maſter

Maſter *Robert Yeomans* and Maſter *George Bowcher*, Citizens of *Briſtol*, murdered there, *May* 30, 1643.

THere were few cities in the Kingdom, for all the Artifices and popular cheats of thoſe at *Weſtminſter*, who had debauched a great number of the Kings good Subjects, wherein his Majeſties Cauſe had not an equal ſhare in the Affection and Opinion of the Inhabitants; if in ſome places it went leſſe, in others it was paramount, as the Difference was viſible, in the neighbouring Cities of *Glocester* and *Briſtol*. In the laſt whereof, we ſhall preſent you with a very ſad and deplorable example of Loyalty and cruelty, in the perſons of Mr. *Yeomans* and Mr. *Bowcher*, intending it as a ſweet Oyntment to embalm their Funerals; that though with their Saviour (the Ignominy of whoſe Croſſe ſanctified even the death of that accurſed Tree) in their death they were numbred among the Tranſgreſſors, yet (Loyalty being their Epi-

Epitaph) they *may make their Graves amongst the Honourable.*

When the Long Parliament first sate, these two Gentlemen, with the rest of the Kingdom, rejoyced to see that day, and stood at gaze, as greedily as any, expecting what acts of Bounty, what Relief of Grievances the King would through their hands convey unto his Subjects. And while they kept in the Sphere of their Duty and Allegiance, were as forward to applaud them as any, but after the Publication of the *Remonstrance*, wherein the Parliament so abominably slandered the Kings Government, which was the Ground-work of the Rebellion, and the Critical time being come, in which men must either declare themselves, either for, or against their Soveraign, though the City was deeply leavened with disloyal Principles, yet these Gentlemen, and the major Part of the Citizens, of whom they were chief, were the Kings most faithful Subjects. They were men of good esteem, plentiful estates, known Integrity, and true Children of the Church of *England*, who seeing the miserable condition of those places where the Rebels bore sway, and beginning to be sensible of the same Bondage under Col. *Essex*, entred into a

Con-

ſultation, how to put the City of *Briſtol* into the Kings Poſſeſſion and Protection. To this purpoſe, they diſpatcht an Agent to the Court, to inform the King, that he had many good Subjects in *Briſtol*, and withal, to ſignifie their deſire to deliver up his own City to himſelf, if he would ſend ſome of his Forces thither, to take it: The Inducements and Reaſons of this Deſign, were theſe;

Firſt, Conſcience to God, not to reſiſt the King, *knowing they that do, ſhall receive unto themſelves Damnation.* Deteſting that abominable Sect of the *Hothamites*, thoſe State-Hereticks, who accounted it their duty to keep the Kings Towns for the Kings uſe, by ſhutting the Gates againſt the Kings Perſon.

Secondly, the frequent Affronts given to His Majeſty by ſcandalous and diſloyal Speeches on all Occaſions belched out againſt him, by Proteſtations, Declarations, Meſſages, Contempt of his Gracious Offers, before the Face of his Meſſengers, as to inſtance in Sr. *Baynham Throckmorton*, whom the King ſent to *Briſtol*, requiring the Mayor and Aldermen, not to give admittance to any of the Parliament Forces, promiſing, that he himſelf would not im-

poſe

poſe any on them, together with tender of the promiſe of his Favour; yet did the Mayor and Sheriffe, two Boutefews in that City, ſend 4 Pieces of Ordnance at that very inſtant to *Marleborough*, to be employed againſt the King.

Laſtly, Out of regard to their own ſecurity, and to quit themſelves of thoſe Oppreſſions and Grievances under which they ſuffered, and theſe were many; 1. The often repeated Taxations and Loans of Money unto the King and Parliament, as they were pleaſed to twiſt them upon the thredbare Security of the publick Faith, the illegal exactions employed for repairing the Caſtle, building of Forts, and maintaining a Garriſon againſt the King. 2. By urging upon them new and treaſonable Votes and Proteſtations, if not fully in words, yet in the uſe and interpretation of them, directly oppoſite to the Oath of Allegiance, the Oath of every Citizen, when made a Freeman, with a paticular Engagement, to reſiſt Prince *Rupert*, the Lord General, the Earl of *Forth* and *Brainford*, the Lord Marqueſſe *Hertford*, the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, Sr. *Ralph Hopton*, and their Forces. 3. By their diſarming all ſuch as were any way ſuſpected to bear duty and Affection

to

to his Majeſty, unleſſe they would take the aforeſaid Proteſtations. 4. The perpetual Scorn and Obloquy to which they were expoſed, being reproached every day, as they paſſed the ſtreets, with the names of Malignants and Papiſts. 5. The General Contempt and Prophanation of Gods holy Worſhip and Service, tearing the Common-Prayer-Book, *&c.* Laſtly, Becauſe upon the Point, they were confined to *Briſtol*, not daring to go out of the City; for in all places where the Commands and Ordinances of the Two Houſes prevailed, they had given a Liſt of the Names of thoſe that durſt appear for the King, to the end, that if any of them came thither, they might be apprehended, and ſent Priſoners to *Taunton*, *Barkley* Caſtle, as Delinquents to the Parliament.

It was no wonder therefore, that a City thus robbed of its Wealth and Liberty, groaning under an inſupportable Yoke of Bondage and Tyranny, ſhould endeavour, by reſtoring the King to his Rights, to reſtore themſelves to their former Freedom. Upon theſe Motives therefore they engaged in a Loyal Confederacy, to deliver the City from its Captivity, into his Majeſties Protection, if poſſible, without any bloodſhed,

ſhed, as afterwards by their Examination appeared.

'Tis therefore true, that theſe two Gentlemen with their Aſſociates, had an Intention to caſt out the Rebels, and to ſecure *Briſtol* for the King, and to ſeize the Governour, and ſome of the Chief Rebels, but not to kill them; and to that end, a Commiſſion was got, and ſent to Mr. *Yeomans*, to raiſe Forces, and conſtitute Commanders for the Kings Service; whereupon a Proteſtation was drawn by Mr. *Boucher*, to be taken by all the Partakers in this buſineſſe, which fully expreſt their Intentions in this undertaking; which being in general Terms, for the Aſſiſtance and Defence of the King, againſt all Forces raiſed without his Command, need not here be inſerted.

After Communication of Counſels, and many Meſſages interchanged between *Oxford* and *Briſtol*, drawing to the Deſign, ſome of the Parliament Officers under Co'. *Eſſex*, who loathed and condemned themſelves for being in their Service, it was reſolved, that upon *Monday*, *Mar.* 7. 1642. Prince *Rupert* with a Party of the Kings Forces, ſhould face the City on *Durdan*-Down, diſtant not a full Mile from the City,

ty, while they within, ſhould poſſeſſe and make good *Froom Gate* and *Newgate*, ſeize the Court of Guards, open the Gates, and give the Signal thereof, for the Kings Forces to make their Approach, by Ringing of St. *Johns* and St. *Michaels* Bels. Accordingly, Prince *Rupert* came, expecting the Signal by Five of the Clock in the morning, and the Ports to be opened, but the Combination was diſcovered, and theſe two Gentlemen, with others, apprehended, there being found ſeveral Armed men with them in their Houſes, which being ſignified to the Prince, he marched preſently away.

Having them thus in their power, they clap Irons upon them, tie them Head and Feet together, make them cloſe Priſoners, deprive them of all Comfort to be adminiſtred by their Wives, Children, or Friends, and uſed them with that Barbarouſneſs and Inhumanity as is not imaginable could be practiſed by one Chriſtian upon another; and after 11 weeks hard Impriſonment, frequent Examination, barbarous inſulting over them, eſpecially by *Nathaniel Fiennes*, they were brought to their Trial at a Council of War, where, upon the Articles exhibited againſt them, by Advocate *Walker*,

they

they were condemned to die; but firſt Mr. *Yeomans* received this Judgment.

The Judgment upon Robert Yeomans.

Upon due Conſideration of the Articles exhibited on *May* the 8th. by *Clement Walker*, Eſquire, Advocate to this Council of War againſt *Robert Yeomans*, and others, the late conſpirators in this City, and upon due hearing of the Anſwers, and defence of the ſaid *Robert*, to the ſeveral Articles, and alſo upon Proofs and Examination before them taken upon Oath; It is unanimouſly adjudged by this Court, That the ſaid *Robert Yeomans* is guilty of Trayterous Intelligence and correſpondency with the Enemy, and of a trayterous and wicked conſpiracy, to betray this Town into the hands of the Enemy, and thereupon this Court doth adjudge and paſſe Sentence of death upon him, as a Traytor and Conſpirator, and accordingly doth order, That the ſaid *Robert Yeomans* ſhall be returned to the place of his former Impriſonment, and from thence be brought before the main Court of Guard, there to be hanged by the Neck till he die.

Mr. *Robert Yeomans* being thus moſt unjuſtly

juſtly condemned, *May* the 8th. in the ſame Moneth, Mr. *George Bowcher* was convened before them, where were preſent, and ſitting in Council 3 or 4 mean raſcally Fellows, one of whom, by name *Robert Baugh*, a Sheep-skin-Dreſſer, who in times of peace durſt not come near Mr. *Yeomans*, but uncovered, at a diſtance, as his duty was, now plucked off Mr. *Yeomans* Hat (he being brought before them again) commanding him to ſtand bare before him; the Articles were the ſame which were exhibited before againſt Mr. *Yeomans*, and are now not material to be inſerted; but upon the matter of them drawn out of his own Confeſſion, or depoſition of others, at the Lady *Rogers* her Houſe, he received the like Sentence of Condemnation.

When the News of this came to Court, though many men did not think that their bold Inſolency would ſo far dare as to put the Sentence in execution, yet at laſt conſidering, that they were not in the hands of honourable Enemies, but Rebel Sectaries, under ſuch a Governour, the General of his Majeſties Forces reſolved to write unto *Fiennes*, and that by way of Threat, that by the menace of the like puniſhment on the Priſoners with him, he might deter them

them from their intended Cruelty on the Kings good Subjects there. The Letter was this:

I Having been informed, that lately at a Court of War, you have condemned to death *Robert Yeomans*, late Sheriffe of the City of *Briſtol*, who hath his Majeſties Commiſſion for raiſing a Regiment for his Service, *William Yeomans*, his Brother, *George Bowcher*, and *Edward Dacres*, all for expreſſing their Loyalty to his Majeſty, and endeavouring his Service, according to their Allegiance, and that you intend to proceed ſpeedily againſt divers others in the like manner, do therefore ſignifie unto you, that I intend ſpeedily to put M. *George*, Mr. *Stevens*, Capt. *Huntley*, and others taken in Rebellion againſt his Majeſty at *Cyrenceſter*, into the ſame condition; do further advertize you, that if you offer by that unjuſt Judgment to execute any of them you have ſo condemned, that theſe now in cuſtody here, eſpecially thoſe men aforeſpecified, muſt expect no Favour or Mercy. Directed to the Commander in Chief, and Council of War in the City of *Briſtol*.

Forth.

Fiennes

Fiennes having received this Letter by a Drum, and knowing the great advantage they had by the Meanneſs and Baſeneſs of the Priſoners in the Kings hands, put in the Ballance with thoſe of the Kings in their hands, while Earls, Barons and the Flower of the Nobility were expoſed to Tinkers and Coblers, returned a moſt petulant and ſawcy Letter; which for the Irreverence and baſeneſs of it, we will not daign to inſert.

Whereupon, the King pitying the diſtreſs of thoſe his Loyal Subjects, and perceiving, no Reaſon or Juſtice could prevail with *Fiennes* (his Bowels yearning over his worſt Subjects) put him upon a pious conſideration of thoſe that were to ſuffer for him, which by a Trumpeter, in his Royal Letter he expreſt to the Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffes of *Briſtol*, in theſe words;

CHARLES R.

TRuſty and Beloved, We greet you well: Whereas We are informed, that by the Power and Authority of certain Factious and Rebellious Perſons in that

that Our City of *Briſtol*, divers of Our good Subjects (as namely, *Robert Yeomans*, *George Bowcher*, *William Yeomans*, *Edward Dacres*, and others) of that Our City are impriſoned, for preſerving their Duty and Loyalty to us, and for refuſing to joyn in, or aſſiſt this Horrid and odious Rebellion againſt Us, and that the ſaid wicked and trayterous Perſons have preſumed to condemn the ſaid Innocent men to die, and upon ſuch their Sentence, notoriouſly againſt the Laws of God and man, they intend to execute and murder our ſaid Subjects. We have thought fit, to ſignifie to you, the Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffes, and the reſt of the Body of Our Common-Council of that Our City, That if you ſuffer this Horrid and Execrable Murder to be committed upon the Perſons aforeſaid, and thereby call the Judgment of God, and bring perpetual Infamy upon that Our City; We ſhall look upon it as the moſt barbarous and Inhumane Act, that hath yet been committed againſt Us, and upon you, as the moſt deſperate Betrayers of Us, and of the Lives and Liberties of your Fellow-Subjects. And We do therefore Will and Command you, not to ſuffer any Violence to be done upon the Perſons aforeſaid; but

that

that if any ſuch be attempted againſt them, that you raiſe all the Power and Strength of that Our City for their Reſcue. And to that purpoſe, We Command all Our Good Subjects of that Our City, to ayd and aſſiſt you, upon their Allegiance, and as they hope for any Grace or Favour at Our Hands. And that you and they kill and ſlay all ſuch who ſhall attempt or endeavour to take away the Lives of Our ſaid Subjects. And for ſo doing, this ſhall be your Warrant. And hereof, you may not fail at your utmoſt Peril.

Given at Our Court of *Oxford*, May 29. 1643.

To Our Truſty and Well-Beloved, the Mayor, Aldermen Sheriffs, and Common Council of Our City of *Briſtol*.

This Letter arrived at *Briſtol*, the very day of the Execution of theſe Gentlemen: but *Fiennes* either imagining or knowing of ſuch a thing, kept the Gates ſhut all the day, ſo that none could come in or out, and when the Murder was perpetrated, and the Meſſenger admitted, contrary to the Law

of Arms and Nations, he was ſent to Priſon, where he continued a long time.

What could a Gracious Prince do more? but having not Power to compel, what he could not perſwade, they perſiſted in their bloudy Purpoſes. For after Sentence of Death paſſed on them, they purſued them with Threats, and uſed no other Language to them, but death and Hanging, often menacing what they could but once inflict: So that every hour they expected death. Having thus languiſhed ſome dayes under theſe bloudy Inſultations, being frequently deprived of their neceſſary Comforts, by the Guards that ſtood at the Priſon doors, for no other purpoſe. If Execution had not been haſtned, Famine would have prevented their publick deſpight. For Mr. *Yeomans*, whom of the Two, they moſt hated, being loaden with Irons, and ſtifled with the Naſtineſs of the Dungeon, waſted, and conſumed through want of Food, but *filled with the ſcornful Reproofs of the Proud*, by reproaches, and ſuch like rancorous Language, was ready to die that Morning of his Execution: For being a man of a magnanimous Spirit, a large Soul, and of great employments, was more ſenſible of Indignities, ſo that ſitting by his Wife that

Morning, and leaning on her Breast, he fell into a swoon, and probably had then departed, but that the shrieks and outcries of his Wife recalled him to a more Glorious Death, that so Posterity might read his Name with Mr. *Bowchers*, not in the Catalogue of Confessors, but enrolled in the Noble Army of Martyrs.

The time of their Execution was concealed, for fear the City should oppose so bloody a Fact; but when the Fatal day was come, *Fiennes* drew his Forces into the Marish, the common place where they make their Musters, and then suddenly caused the Gates to be shut, & drew Horse and Foot into every street of the City, to awe the Citizens, and to suppress Insurrections, which the Indignity and affront offered to two of their most eminent Fellow-Citizens, whose Crime was nothing else but Loyalty, might incite them to; especially if they should consider, that an Issue of Bloud was that day opened, that might in the end prove fatal to them, and involve them in the same condition, if they should see those Persons led to the slaughter, and they stand like Sheep, and not oppose it; for if *Fiennes* and his Blood-hounds should for any other Vertue, as well as Loyalty, passe,

pass the same Sentence on any of them, who should defend them, who having refused the Kings Protection, are grown so tame, as not to venture their Lives for themselves.

All things being thus made secure, the Prisoners are brought from the Castle, to the Main Court of Guard, being saluted all the way thither, by the people, who pressed with hazard enough to see and take leave of these Martyrs, who would have asserted their Liberty; they likewise returned hearty thanks for their dangerous Expressions of their Affections, it being a sin next to Malignancy, to own them, or pray for them.

To fit themselves for their ends, they desired they might have the assistance of Mr. *Toogood*, and Mr. *Standfast*, two Orthodox and pious Ministers of that City, to sweeten the Cup they were ready to drink, but this Christian Request was most unchristianly denied them, and two Ministers of the Faction designed for their miserable Comforters.

When they were at the foot of the Ladder to that Tree which was presently to bear fruit to Eternal Life, it was observed by some of the Murderers, that knew the

knack of it, that the Halters were either too long or ſhort, or ſome fault, which made the Executioner go and take them off, whereupon the People that were Spectators of this bloudy Tragedy, that ſtood at a diſtance, and knew not the reaſon of their ſo doing, conceiving, that *Fiennes* had ſent a Reprieve, ſuddenly expreſſed their Joy, by loud Acclamations; but the deaths-man making his Fatal Inſtruments faſt again, and the Guards continuing ſtill upon the place; as if they were thunder-ſtruck, they ſtood ſtill aſtoniſhed, and ſoon changed their Joy into Tears and Lamentations.

Being thus ready to be offered up as a Sacrifice to the implacable rage and malice of *Fiennes* and his fellow-Rebels; Mr. *Robert Yeomans* firſt aſcended the Ladder, thence to reach his Crown of Martyrdom; but before he went up, he took care, after the example of our Saviour, to recommend his wife to his father in Law, Mr. *Yeomans*, in this addreſſe, that he had left him a Legacy, his VVife then great with child, and eight ſmall children, the Eldeſt not able to put on his own Cloaths, and ſo after many Embraces, left him, and ſet forward on his way to Heaven.

Being

Being thus ſeated in that place of ſhame and diſgrace (as it is in its own nature, where the Cauſe doth not change the accurſed Tree into a Theatre of Honour) and ſeeing himſelf made a Spectacle to that City, wherein he had lived in plenty and Honour, being Sheriffe but the Year before, which Office he diſcharged with as much Magnificence and Bounty as any of his Predeceſſors. And from that Proſpect, taking a view of many friends that could not well look through their Tears to ſee him again; ſeeing alſo others (of a far different temper, that rejoyced in his ſufferings, amongſt which, was *Robert Baugh*, one of the aforeſaid Council of VVar, in a moſt deviliſh cruelty) ſtand jeering and mocking at him to his face, here fleſh and bloud interpoſed, which tranſported him to an Expoſtulation, bordering between Indignation and Submiſſion, ſaying, *Good God, what have I done to be here?* but inſtantly ſorry that humane Frailty ſhould extort any thing from him unbeſeeming the Juſtice of his Cauſe, or the hardneſs of Chriſtian reſolution, ſilencing the Suggeſtions, of ſuch evil Counſellors, he compoſed himſelf to ſpeak to the People.

Being weakned by long and many Suffe-

rings, he was not able to speak much, or loud, only as to clear himself from the imputation of an intent to have massacred all that adhered to the Parliament: Laying his Hand upon his Breast, and fixing his eyes on Heaven, the Habitation of the God of Truth, he made a solemn Protestation of his Innocency from any such thought, and withal, professed a firm perswasion of the Justice of that cause for which he suffered; adding, *that if he had more Lives, he would sacrifice them all to his Soveraign in that way.*

While he was thus speaking, Major *Hercules Langrish* (since dead in Goal, and extream want, having before betrayed his Master, the King, in discovering his Majesties Coming to the House of Commons, to demand the 5 Members, who by that means had time to shift away) and *Clifton* call upon the Executioner to hasten his work, they interrupted Mr. *Yeomans* also, and goaded him in the thighs with their Halberts, bidding him to make an end; for they were yet afraid of his rescue, whereupon, he desired the Witnesses of his suffering to sing with him the 130 *Psalm*, which he sung with great Devotion and Fervency; knowing that he should be presently

ſently tranſlated out of *Bochim*, the valley of Tears, into that triumphant Quire, where with Angels he ſhould ſing Hallelujah for evermore. Having finiſhed the Pſalm, and his Prayers, and deſired God not to charge his Bloud on that City, and having prayed for his Perſecuters, charging his friends not to harbour any revengeful Thoughts againſt them, and in the cloſe of all, beginning to defend his cauſe, as words which would leave the deepeſt impreſſion, this *Langriſh* and *Clifton* cauſed him to be thrown off the Ladder, hardly affording him time to recommend his ſoul unto God. Being thrown off, and his Brother M. *Haggat* ſtaying his Body that ſwung with the fall, this *Clifton* gave the ſaid Mr. *Haggat* ſuch a Blow with his Cane, that almoſt ſtruck him to the ground. Oh the barbarous Inhumanity of theſe Villains!

After Mr. *Yeomans* was thus executed, without any reſiſtance of the Citizens, there being no danger of Oppoſition, they wade on in Bloud, commanding Mr. *Bowcher* to aſcend the Ladder. He had written what he had intended to ſpeak, being very large, exhorting thoſe who had ſet their hands to this Plow, meaning the defence of the Kings cauſe, not to be too ha-

ſty, (as terrified with their Sufferings) to take them off, and words to ſuch purpoſe, deſcribing the Schiſmaticks, according to the Character of them, drawn by the Penſil of the Holy Ghoſt, in Scripture phraſe, in which he was excellently well read, being confeſt by his very enemies, to be a very Religious man; inſtancing in that remarkeable place of S. *Jude*, *Proud*, *Boaſters*, *Heady*, *Unſtable*, &c. But it was not permitted him to ſpeak all out, by thoſe men who knew themſelves ſo much concerned; at laſt preſſed on to the acceleration of his end by thoſe who were ſwift to ſhed bloud, he deſired to ſing *Pſal.* 16. which being ended, he began to recommend himſelf to God by pathetical Prayers and Ejaculations, wherein he was interrupted, by a Factious Levite, one *Roſewel*, who called him Hypocrite and Apoſtate, reviling him, that after ſo ſtrict a converſation and ſo much time ſpent in the Profeſſion of Religion, he ſhould render all ſuſpected for hypocriſie, by ſo obſtinate perſeverance in Rebellion againſt the Parliament. This ſhook not the conſtancy of this Reſolved Martyr, who held up with St. *Bernard*, *Scutum Conſcientiæ contra Gladium Linguæ*, the Buckler of a good Conſcience againſt the Blowes of a ma-

a malicious Tongue, and ſo ſuſtaining himſelf with that comfortable Promiſe of our Saviour, *Bleſſed are you when men ſhall revile you*, &c. he yielded himſelf to the will and deſire of his Murderers. The Factious Prieſt in his very fall from the Ladder, purſuing him with the ſame odious Names of Hypocrite and Apoſtate, thereby, if poſſible, to diſturb the Peace of his Soul, in the moment of his Death; a deviliſh Practiſe in extending Malice even to the Endeavours of a ſecond Death.

Theſe two Glorious Martyrs now lying under the Altar, having thus through their Ignominious deaths, in a Glorious cauſe, and with a pure Conſcience rendred their Souls to God, the ſad Spectators ſmite their Breſts, and return. Never was there ſo general a Face of ſorrow, ſuch bitter lamentations heard in that City, as on that day. Their Bodies taken down, were both carried to Mr. *Yeomans* his Houſe, Father in Law to the Martyr. In the Evening, Mr. *Bowchers* Body was conveyed to his own Houſe, a ſad Spectacle to his poor Widow, and ſeven Orphans, and at night both were interred, Mr. *Yeomans* at *Chriſt-Church*, Mr. *Bowchers* at St. *Warburghs*, their Funerals being attended by thoſe Orthodox Mi-

niſters the Perſecution had left, and by moſt of the honeſt well-affected Citizens, though they knew that they could not expreſs this Piety to the dead, but to the hazard of loſing their Liberties, and plundering their Eſtates.

This moſt horrid Fact, no Hiſtory, no not that of the Anabaptiſts in *Germany*, comes near, ſo that, it is miſerably and cruelly beholding to a Parallel in the ſame Kingdom, the deplorable Butchery of Mr. *Tompkins* and Mr. *Challoner* in *London*, which ſoon after followed; as it doth here, in order of time.

Mr.

Mr. Tompkins *and Mr.* Challoner *Condemned by a ſentence of a Court Martial, and executed in* London, *July* 5. 1643.

THe rebellious faction having ſacrificed thoſe Gentlemen to the *Moloch* of their diſloyal cruelty, under the vizor of a bleſſed Reformation in one of the chiefeſt Cities in the *Weſt*, thereby to ſtrike terror in the minds of all men, who ſhould dare to be honeſt, and be according to their duty faithful to their Soveraign, to which in ſpight of all their ſpecious pretences, they ſaw the wiſeſt and ſobreſt part of the Nation very much inclined, and to give more flagitious authority to their illegal and ſalvage proceedings, by perpetrating the ſame violences in the Metropolis of the Kingdom, before the faces of al the *Engliſh* Courts of Judicature, thereby to amuſe the weaker and unintelligent ſort of people, upon whom their main deſign was bottomed, as if they had the Law clearly on their ſide in that.

that horrid rebellion, proceeded further in the ſame manner againſt theſe two Martyrs, the cauſe of whoſe Deaths, take as followeth, being upon the ſame account with their preceding fellow ſufferers.

After that the Faction had waded ſo far in their diſloyalty againſt the King, as to levy a War againſt him, had ſeized moſt of his Magazines, Cities, and places of Defence, had poſſeſt themſelves of all his Ships, and therewith infeſted thoſe places, which ſtood for him, had defied and bid him battle, wherein his Sacred Perſon was alike endangered with the meaneſt of his Rebels, in which it pleaſed God, ſo to aſſiſt the King, that thoſe at *Weſtminſter* found themſelves deceived in the Kings ſtrength; he ſuddenly after *Edg-hill* fight marching up to *Branford* near *London*, and putting the Members and the tumultuous Cititzens into a deſerved conſternation and confuſion; and yet amidſt all theſe terrors of War, had offered them terms of Peace, laying aſide the great advantages his Majeſty might promiſe himſelf from the ſtate of affairs, in which his ſucceſſes had placed him, yet notwithſtanding all his repeated propoſals for an accommodation, nothing could be effected, with thoſe men whoſe

whose ears were deaf to the charms of Peace, though never so prudent and rational, as being widely distant from those ends and designs, which they had laid in the War, being the spoil of three Kingdoms. When I say, these Gentlemen perceived into what a miserable condition the whole Nation (reflecting tenderly also upon bleeding *Ireland*) was like speedily to be reduced, by the dissembled covetousnesse, rebellious obstinacy, implacable malice and devilish cunning and subtilty of their popular cheats upon the multitude; then did several worthy Citizens endeavour to interpose and obviate those growing mischiefs, which they did foresee would inevitably fall upon this Church and State.

First of all therefore, they addrest themselves by way of Petition, earnestly suing to the two Houses, that they would vouchsafe to hear their Soveraign, and not preclude or prejudice, the way to an agreement by a resolute fixednesse in those courses which they humbly shewed, could not but be dreadful and destructive to the Publick. A Petition to this effect, with many thousand hands and hearts was accordingly tendred, whereunto they received a slight answer, that the Houses would do

what

what in their wiſdom they thought fit, and that the Petitioners were, as their duty was, to acquieſſe and reſt in their Counſels and determinations, which ſhould provide without their direction, for the ſafety of the Kingdom.

From this Anſwer to this purport and effect they ſoon wel perceived, what the temper of thoſe men was, and that their firſt whimſie, that dark cloud of jealouſies and fears, was big with a tempeſtuous ſtorm, impending over the lives and eſtates of the King and his good Subjects. They ſaw a ſeditious and pragmatical perſon continued Lord Mayor, againſt the Kings expreſs command for two years together, who by his Warrants and Officers did plunder, vex and impriſon all men but ſuſpected of duty towards the King, ſo that none of them could promiſe themſelves ſecurity for a night. They ſaw ſeveral meſſengers ſent to the City by the King moſt ſhamefully abuſed, impriſoned and threatened with Death, which was afterwards rigorouſly executed. No man, at their Common Halls and Councils, durſt aſſume the due freedom and liberty of ſpeech, to declare his mind concerning the grievances and troubles

I. Pennington.

troubles of the time, in order to the removal of them by an amicable compoſure, but ſtraight he was apprehended, and committed to ſome Goal or other, whereof their cruelty had ſo much occaſion, that many noble Houſes, the honour and beauty of the City (a ſhame and grief to ſee) were converted thereinto. Nor fared it better with the Houſes of God, which were ſtript and deſpoiled of all their Ornaments, and the impertinencies of mad zealotry, in ſeditions and railing invectives againſt the Government eſtabliſhed in their room. They ſaw that goodly and beautiful Fabrick, which was the Honour of the City, *Cheapſide Croſs* demoliſhed, nor could it be told, how far this rage and violence might proceed, to the overturning and confounding all things ſacred and civil. But that which moſt feelingly affected them, was the periſhing and ruine of Gods living Temples; many, nay moſt of his faithful Miniſters of the Orthodox Clergy, being driven out of their Livings, and reduced to a morſel of bread. Many other the like compaſſionate matters there were, which kindled in the minds of theſe Gentlemen, but becauſe they fall in, and agree with what we have related in the Martyrdome

of

of those two Citizens at *Bristol* I shall here omit them.

Upon these Motives an Association was entred into, by a great many worthy Citizens, since reason could not work upon the stubborn minds of the Faction, to reduce them by other means, that was by putting the City into the Kings hands. To this design some Parliament Members were privy, but none personally ingaged, but Mr. *Edmund Waller* (who hardly escaped with life, was put out of the House, and fined ten thousand pound) who undertook the manage of it, as to their parts, and also to make some of the Lords assistant and favourable to the Enterprise.

Therefore having digested the order and method of their proceedings, they procured a Commission from the King, directed to several Citizens and persons of quality, and amongst them to these two Gentlemen, whereby power and authority was given them, to levy, list, arm, and train, what number of men they should find requisite and convenient for the Service; and to appoint whom they should confide in for Officers and Commanders. This Commission was conveyed to *London* (as the report

port went) by the right Honourable the Lady *Aubigney* deceaſed, Mother to his Grace, *Charls* Duke of *Richmond* and *Lenox*, and by her delivered to ſome of the perſons aforeſaid.

Upon receipt thereof, ſeveral meetings and conferences were held, in order to the promoting the ſaid Commiſſion, which was chiefly proſecuted by theſe two Loyal Perſons, who made ſuch progreſs therein, that they had brought the buſineſs into ſome form; when through the zealous haſting of the work (to the countenancing whereof the power & authority of ſome of the Parliament Lords then ſitting at *Weſtminſter* was needful and to be expected) which could not be without ſome buſtle by the Spies and Emiſſaries of the Parliament, and through the inconſtancy and treachery, or unhappy diſcourſe of ſome other engaged perſons, the whole affair came to be diſcovered, and thereupon ſeveral Citizens, the ſaid Mr. *Waller*, with theſe two Gentlemen were apprehended, and committed Mr. *Waller* to the Tower, the other to Newgate, whence after ſeveral times examination to find out the deſign, and all the parties concerned in it, by confeſſion and confrontation, they were a while after

ter brought to their Tryal before a Court Martial (*London* being then a Garriſon) at *Guild-hall*, and there ſentenced to be hanged, which was performed the fifth of *July* 1643.

To ſhew and point at the hainouſneſs of this crime of Loyalty, they were ordered to be executed near their own doors, as more ſhameful and dreadful to the Priſoners, to be hung in the eyes and before the face of their Neighbours, but their Barbaritie miſt its aim, for they were not a whit daunted, neither at the manner or place of Execution, the worſt befel the ſorrowful Inhabitants thereabouts, who had theſe two Gentlemen in very great eſteem, and who were deluged in tears at ſo miſerable a Spectacle. Mr. *Tompkins* finiſhed his Martyrdom in *Holborn*, Mr. *Challoner* againſt the Old *Exchange* in *Cornhil*; They both maintained their Cauſe to their laſt Breath, juſtifying their intentions, in the buſineſſe they ſuffered, for to be lawful and honeſt, eſpecially Mr. *Tompkins*, who ſaid little, but very reſolutely; beſeeching God to proſper the King, and bleſs him in his Armies and Councils, deſiring the Spectators not to be offended or deterred from their obedience to him by his ſuffering,

ing, which he ſaid, he looked upon as the greateſt glory in the World; and ſo commending his Soul to God, he finiſhed his race, and is now certainly in everlaſting bliſs. Mr. *Challoner* at his Execution ſpake little (being not ſuffered to have any of the ſober pious Clergy with him; but haunted by that ſtage Divine *Hugh Peters*) who after he had prayed with him, Mr. *Challoner* ſpake as followeth.

Gentlemen, I do from my heart forgive you and all the World, deſiring you and all the World to forgive me alſo; and after ſome ſmall time he Religiouſly commended his Soul into the hands of Almighty God, as unto a Faithful Creator.

Maſter

Maſter Daniel Kniveton *Executed againſt the Old* Exchange *in* Cornhil, *November* 27. 1643.

THis loyal Perſon was formerly a *Haberdaſher* in *Fleetſtreet*, and at the removal of the King, left the City of *London*, and betook himſelf to the Service of his Majeſty, by whom he was employed in the quality of a Meſſenger.

On this Employment he was ſent to *London*, his Errand was to ſignifie the Kings pleaſure, that the Term of *Michaelmaſs*, ſhould be prorogued, the reaſon was becauſe the Parliament had cauſed a new Broad Seal to be made, and iſſued out Writs and other Proceſſes by virtue of the ſame, contrary to his Majeſties Royal Authority, and beyond all the reaches or precedents of any former Rebellion.

With this meſſage, being a Citizen of the place, he was entruſted, and as bound by his allegiance and duty, delivered it according to the tenour of his inſtructions: where-

whereupon, contrary to the universal custome and honourable practise of all Nations, which gives security and free liberty of passage to all such persons, he was apprehended and committed in order to his Tryal by a Court of War; those Barbarous Tyrannical States-men, not daring to hazard their authority and the justice of the matter to the decision of the Common Law of *England*.

To this Sanguinous Tribunal, no truly Loyal Person ever was brought, who was within the reach of their griping talents, that ever escaped with his skin; so aptly might that Fable of the *Fox* to the *Lyon* be (rather) unmoralized

——— *Vestigia cerno.*
Omnia te adversum spectantia, nulla retrorsum.

It was in vain to move either their Honour, Conscience or Duty, or to plead ones own, their ambiguous salvo's and reserves to themselves, and their forward facing of others out of reason by their *Janus*-like cause, which was for and against the King, like the *Basilisk*, killed all whom it directly aspected, or were brought before them. This

This Gentlemans fate was huddled up at *Essex* House, before a Council of War held there, on the walls whereof any man then might have red the Event. The grand pillar, raiser and support of that unnatural War, being proprietor thereof, and at that present, personally inhabiting it, who was just come from *Newbery* first Fight, where as yet he had left himself unrevenged.

Without any more adoe therefore, but a setting Mr. *Kniveton* at their Bar, as the mark and aim of all their impotent malice; he was condemned to be hanged as a Spie, for maintaining and managing intelligence with, and from the Enemy (that was the King whom they said they fought for) but on what Article of War, I never could tell, and I presume the Reader can hardly imagine.

Little respit was afforded for the time of Execution, for the Faction were enraged that any man should presume to tell them, that it was Treason to counterfeit the Kings Seal, and if such continual Messages, upon every of their actions should be brought and declared, it might in time open the eyes of the people to understand the Law, and leave them in conclusion

to

to its Juſtice, and their due demerit.

He was brought therefore on the day he ſuffered, as aforeſaid, on foot from *Newgate*, being accompanied with Mr. *Benſon* a Bookſeller his acquaintance in *Fleet-ſtreet*, to a Gibbet erected over againſt the *Exchange*, where he may moſt properly be ſaid to have *Sealed* his Cauſe with his *Blood*, being ſent of another *Meſſage* to Heaven, where his Bliſs and Happineſs ſhall have no *Terme*.

Captain Burleigh *Martyred at* Weſtminſter, *February* 10. 1647.

THe Execution of this Perſon was the abſurdity of Law, the contradiction of *Magna Charta*, the infringment and violation of Nature, and if it could be ſtrained higher, than an affront and Rebellion againſt the ſupreme power of the Univerſe, it would paſſe with a leſſer ignominy than the merit of this Cauſe will afford it.

That men tyed by their allegiance, by ſeveral

ſeveral Oaths of Fealty, by the benefit of their protection and advantages they received under the Government of ſo excellent a Prince, were to be diſpenſed, nay muſt be diſcharged from that Duty and Obedience they ought him, and that the Parliament as they had ſubdued their Lawful King, might give Law to him, propound their own inſolent terms and demands, and rigidly inſiſt on them, ſecure his Perſon under pretence of publick ſafety, adminiſter the Kingdom themſelves, ſequeſter and ſeize their Eſtates who reſiſted them; in theſe violent and unheard of outrages; all this I ſay, might be (as otherwiſe it could not be helpt, as the ſad ſtate of the miſeries of the Kingdom then was) with ſome kind of patience endured; but to ſee and hear, to be upon the place, where ſo many undutiful unchriſtian contempts, after the *Votes of Non Addreſſe*, were put upon the King, in that place which he had choſen for his refuge and Sanctuary. I can hardly allow any man in this caſe the glory of Martyrdom, whoſe frame and temper had but the leaſt ingredients of natural (not to pride it in loyal) compaſſion, if he durſt do that, which bravery and courage prompted him to, the

Law

Law and his obedience required, and God commanded.

Yet I do not the leſs wonder, and ſtand amazed at this butchery, upon ſeveral conſiderations, which though they be of different reſpects, yet do center univerſally in this, that they will make the murder of this perſon prodigiouſly infamous to all perſons concernd in it.

Firſt, not to meddle with the Laws, whoſe Divine ſtamp was moſt treaſonably defaced in this act, we will conſider this attempt of Captain *Burleighs*, in the invariable latitude of common humanity.

His pretended crime was the beating of a *Drum* in the *Iſle of Wight* (upon the news the Iſlanders had received, that the Parliament had rejected the King upon their Votes of *Non addreſſe*, and had reſolved to ſettle the Kingdom without him) when his Majeſty was confined a cloſe Priſoner to *Carisbrook Caſtle*. This was miſconſtrued according to the left-handed learning of thoſe times for Treaſon, whereas had there been any ſympathetical Muſick in thoſe Drums, they would have made a noyſe and Alarm of themſelves, borrowed from thoſe groans and ſighs the captive Prince made to his more compaſſionate walls, who

burst to give vent and eccho to those doleful notes.

And could men not allow that soft and tender-heartedness to men, to Christians, to Subjects, to a Subject too well reputed and esteemed of in his Island as a good and honest man, one who out of conscience and integrity, and for no other sinister end whatsoever, had faithfully served his Soveraign abroad, that is, had croſt the Sea to do his devoir, and there having wearied himself and his fortunes, had retired to his home, as a shelter against his hard pursuing destinie, where in privacy he thought to shroud himself. No, he finds death in the place of it; first he is chiefly concern'd in the publick sorrow and distress of his Soveraign, those breaths of grief soon pierce his ears, and those Royal lamentations heightned by a generous Spirit, quickly transport and possess him, and by this most laudable and glorious action, which signified only a courage to rescue what villany had captivated, and hindred their wicked attempts no farther, then by affording a brave and imitable example of Loyal magnanimity to all true Subjects, in all exigencies and dangers of their Princes, he becomes a sacrifice to their *Moloch* of Anarchycal Tyranny. We

We will view him in the next consideration, as his case stood in direct opposition to that of Major *Rolfe*, then an Officer in the Army, and of very great trust and intimacy with *Cromwell*, who was tryed at the same time and Assizes, by the same Commission, Judges and Jury; and then certainly nothing can appear more flagitious and hainously arbitrary than this Gentlemans condemnation. *Contraria juxta se posita magis elucescunt*, contraries opposed one to another, make each of them appear the clearer, and so will it prove in the memory of this Noble Person, which will hereby appear in a most venerable splendor.

Rolfes Crime was this, he was accused by one Mr. *Osborne* and another gentleman then attending on the King in the Isle of *Wight*, where this *Rolfe* had a Charge, to have conspired the death of the King, and that particularly, by assassinating him with a Brace of Pistols; the time and place of this Regicide also proved. This Information was first made to the House of Lords, and avowed by the said two Gentlemen; whereupon, *Rolfe* being apprehended in *Bishopsgate* (where he had like to have been torn in pieces by the multitude of people,

had it not been for their very ſtrong Guards they ſent for him) was carried in a Sedan, to the Gate-houſe, whence he was ſent againſt the Aſſizes, to *Wincheſter*, where, at his Arraignment, the whole matter was punctually proved againſt him, yet for all that, both by Judges and Jury, the then Lord Chief Baron, and ſome packt deſperate Wretches of that County, he was, to the wonder and aſtoniſhment of all the world, acquitted and freed, and ſoon after ſet at Liberty.

Next followed the Inditement and Arraignment of this our Martyr, which was layd for levying war againſt the King, to which, he duly and of Right and Conſcience, pleaded *Not guilty*. The matter of Fact which was proved againſt him, was, that he had beaten up Drums in the Iſle of *Wight*, to raiſe men for to aſſiſt the King againſt the Parliament; ſuch a Contradiction in it ſelf, that had but Reaſon and Loyalty been at market, there had been no ſuch deſperate Chapmen in the Country; for without more ado, theſe wretched Fellows bring him in guilty of High Treaſon, and the Judge gave Sentence accordingly; which was preſently after executed.

We will conſider Thirdly, that this manner

ner of Trial was never offered before, to the Subjects of this Kingdom; those men they murdered upon the Score of Loyalty during the war, were either taken away by their Illegal Ordinances, or Courts Marshal, and Councils of war, they not daring to refer their case to the decision of the Law, but here assoon as they had reduced the King, they thought it an easie work to reduce the Laws, and though his Majesty would not comply with their unlimited demands, they would bend the Law to their Lusts, and most absolute will and Tyranny, so that he is the first, who suffered as a Martyr of the *English* Freedom.

Intercessions were made on all hands for his Life, his poor wife even drowned in tears, imploring their mercy, but there was no Relenting or Compassion to be found among those men. So *Feb.* 10. being come, the day of his blessed Exchange, he full of Christian Resolution and Comfort, with Earnest Prayers to God, for the King and Kingdoms Restoration to their former and lasting Happiness, willingly resigned his Spirit to God; sealing his Glorious Cause, with his last Breath and Bloud.

Sir Charles Lucas *and Sir* George Liſle *ſhot to death at* Colcheſter, *by a Council of War, upon the Rendition of the ſame Town.*

THeſe *Gemini* of Valour and Honour, as well as exact Loyalty, I could not well divide in this Martyrology, being ſo joyned in their deaths, honourable Burial, and Funerals, and being both of them ſo equally eminent in their Generation, for all true worth and Vertue.

Sr. *Charles Lucas* was deſcended of a very Ancient and Illuſtrious Family; he who knows not the Name of *Lucas*, knows nothing of Gentility; but if this Noble Perſon had derived no Honour from his Anceſtors, yet his own purchaſed Glory, and the Relative Merits of his two Famous Brethren, the Lord *Lucas*, and Sir *Gervas*, formerly Governour of *Belvoyr* Caſtle (in which three, Nature and Education had ſumm'd up a Perfection) will without

without any other Additaments, transmit him to Posterity as a worthy and *English* Heroe.

He was a Person assisted with a resolute Spirit, of an active disposition, and a suitable discretion to manage it; strict and severe in his Commands, without any pride or surlinesse, free in his Rewards to persons of Desert and Quality; in his Society, and with his Friends, he was affable, and pleasant; in his Charge serious and vigilant; remiss in nothing that might any way improve or expedite his Dispatch in the Affairs of VVar, as he is well characterred by a good Pen.

We will therefore view him only in the Camp, in which he gloriously lived and died, excusing his Learning and other rare Endowments from the imputation of Crime, and lay all the Load of his miserable Fate, aggravated by the Name of an enemy to the Kingdom, upon his Loyal carriage, and magnanimity, abstracted from all other Considerations.

In the beginning of the Tumults and Preparations for War in *Scotland*, against their Native & pious Pr. he raised a Troop of Horse in *London*, and like an Expert and Resolute Commander, behaved himself in

that uncertain Service, being a profeſt Enemy to the Inſolencies and Rebellious Deſigns of that Nation.

That Broyl ceaſing, through the great condeſcentions of the King, to the unreaſonable Demands of that Kingdom, which kindled the Combuſtions in this, the King being neceſſitated to take up Arms, to defend his Perſon, and the Authority of the Laws againſt the like Rebellion at home, Sr. *Charles* readily engaged on his Soveraigns ſide againſt the pretended 2 Houſes. The firſt place where he ſignally ſhewed his Valour in that juſt Cauſe (omitting Exployts of leſs concernment, as not to our purpoſe) was at *Auburn* Chaſe, and *Newberry* Field, where the firſt memorable Battel was fought; here Sr. *Charles Lucas*, with many other Gallant Gentlemen, behaved themſelves with undanted courage and Reſolution, which ſo far engaged him in that dangerous Buſineſs, the fight being obſtinately maintained, that he received ſome deſperate wounds that fatal day; but the Blood he loſt there, was but an Earneſt or prognoſtick ſtillations & drops of that maſs of Bloud which was afterwards to flow out with his Life, for the ſame Cauſe.

His next Appearance to the terror of his Enemies,

Enemies, his Valour having gained him a frighting name amongst them, was in his deserting of *Cawood* Castle, assaulted by the Parliaments Forces, whence with good conduct, and as true Courage, he forced his way through their Quarters, to such places as he thought convenient, and came at last in safety to *York*.

His Bravery in charging at *Marston Moor*, and enduring the Brunt of his Enemies, when the Fortune of that day declined on the Kings side, as it then challenged the Praise of all men, so it deserves everlasting Remembrance.

His discreet and military Management of the Affairs at *Newark*, where he manifested himself an absolute Souldier, both in Discipline of war, and personal Action, to the great satisfaction of the Governour and Garrison, which alwaies consisted of Gallant and truly Noble Persons, merits a Record to serve as an Example to Future Times.

His brave and successful Attempt in his March from *Berkly* Castle, with part of his Regiment, betwixt *Slymbridge* and *Beverston* Castle, upon Col. *Masseys* Garrisons, together with his incomparable Gallantry in the pursuit of his Design at *Tedbury*, was

work for noble Imitation.

But all theſe Particulars ſignifie nothing to his Heroick Magnanimity in defence of the Town of *Colcheſter*, beleaguered by a potent and victorious Army; This was as the Corollary, the ſumming up of all his Atchievements in the times and circumvallations of which place, we ſhall confine and circumſcribe all his Glories.

After that the Parliament, by the ſucceſs of their unlawful Arms had reduced the King, his Friends, Armies, Towns, and Forts into their power, it was hoped by all men, that now they would appear, what they had ſo long fallaciouſly pretended themſelves, the Aſſertors of the publick Peace and Liberty, in order whereunto, no other Expedient was viſible, then by complying with their reiterated Proteſtations of Loyal Obedience to the King, in a preſent and ſpeedy Reſumption of him to the Exerciſe of his Royal Authority, his Majeſty having, and being willing to grant all that in Honour, Juſtice and Conſcience, could be expected from him: But contrary thereunto, they Voted to ſettle the Kingdom without him (as impoſſible, as to have day without the Light of the Sun, and ſo experimented in the dark Confuſi-

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ons that followed those Trayterous Resolves) which, so much discontented the Generality of the People, who were now, for the most part undeceived, of those principles which had been cunningly spread amongst them, of the Kings Averseness to hearken to his Parliaments, that after several fruitless Petitions for a Composure, and Treaty with the King, from several Counties, in the delivery whereof to the Houses, some of the Petitioners, as of *Surry*, were killed, and wounded, and sent home otherwise unanswered; they resolved to try another way, and have Recourse to Arms. Col. *Langhorn*, *Powel*, and *Poyer* rise in *Wales*, the *Scots* enter *England*; but that which most alarm'd the two Houses, was the Kentish Business, which looke full of Terrour, the whole County unanimously declaring for a speedy Closure with the King, and had formed to that purpose, a very considerable Army, made up with a numerous Company of Volunteers, from *London*, under the command of the Earl of *Norwich*; against these therefore, General *Fairfax* himself was sent, with 6000 men, as requiring his Presence; who was valiantly opposed at *Maidstone*, by part of the Kentish Army, but they being not relie-

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ved by their Body at *Rocheſter*, were for the moſt part cut off, and the Town gained; whereupon, the Earl of *Norwich*, with 3000 men, marched haſtily to *Black heath*, and from thence, ferryed and ſwam over the greateſt part of his Army into *Eſſex* ſide, and quartered at *Bow* and *Stratford*.

Being there, he met with this Noble Heroe Sr. *Charles Lucas*, and other eminent Perſons of Honour and Quality, as, the Lord *Capel*, Lord *Loughborough*, with a compleat Body of reſolved men, with whom, after they had skirmiſhed with ſome Parliament Horſe at *Mile-end*, they marched to *Chelmsford*, where they ſeized the Committee; and thence, to *Colcheſter*, a Town defenceleſs, and inconſiderable, as was generally ſuppoſed, both by the Enemy, and the Adjacent Parts of the Countrey, either to receive by a proviſional way of Relief any great Force into it, or by reaſon of the untenable Condition of it, to hold out any time, if they ſhould venture to take up or ſtay there. Yet ſo conſtantly couragious, vigilant, and incredibly induſtrious, were theſe Loyally diſpoſed Gentlemen, as this Town, which by reaſon of the inpreparation of Neceſſaries, could

not

not probably hold out againſt ſo potent and terrible an Enemy, the ſpace of one week; continued 3 Moneths, in a moſt reſolute Defiance and reſiſtance of a Victorious Army glutted with ſuch variety of Conqueſts, and ſupplied with ſuch freſh and continual Recruits, to accompliſh thoſe unjuſt Triumphs and Trophies, which they had begun to rear upon the Ruines of the whole Kingdom: But at length after many ſtout Endeavours, in Sallies, Eruptions, and perpetual Firings gallantly performed, the Loyal Garriſon having eaten up all their Horſes, the Dogs and Cats, and whatſoever (though moſt reluctant to Nature, being ſweetned with Prunes, and ſome other Fruit and Spice, whereof ſome ſtore was found in the Town at their Coming) could afford them nouriſhment; was compelled to come to a Capitulation (though it was bravely reſolved the night before, to attempt breaking through, which was not unfeaſable) by which it was concluded, the Town ſhould be ſurrendred upon theſe hard conditions, the Officers at Mercy, and the Souldiery upon Quarter for Life.

The Reaſon of theſe hard Conditions, and their ſtanding out ſo long, which occaſioned them, was threefold. The firſt was,

was, That not only the County wherein they were beſieged, but moſt of the Counties in *England* had engaged themſelves, that they would joyn with, and Aſſiſt them in the buſineſs; but all thoſe Mountains of Promiſe came to nothing, an inconſiderable Party appearing about *Saffron Walden*, being routed by Major *Sparrow*. The Second, and which ſeemed more probable, was the hopes they had from *London*, a great many Perſons of Quality, and known Royaliſts therein, having liſted themſelves under the Earl of *Holland*, who had with him in that Action, the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earl of *Peterborough*, the Lord *Francis Villers*, and others; theſe appeared at *Kingſton*, in a formidable manner, but were preſently ſuppreſt by Sr. *Michael Liveſey*, and the aforeſaid Lord *Francis*, bringing up the Rear, was there killed, refuſing the Quarter offered from Rebels, the Earl of *Holland* fled to St. *Neats* in *Bedfordſhire*, where his Quarters were beaten up, by Col. *Scroops* Regiment of Horſe, where Col. *Dalbeir* was ſlain; and himſelf taken Priſoner, and carried to *Warwick* Caſtle. The third and chiefeſt Reaſon, which induced them to the continuance of the Siege, was their daily Expectation of

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the Advance of the *Scotch* Army, then entred *England*, and to whom were joyned a number of Gallant Persons, who had appeared for the King, throughout the War, Commanded by Sr. *Marmaduke*, now Lord *Langdale*. Over this Kirk-Army, Duke *Hamilton* was made General, a Person suspected of all hands, and of whom, and his success, his Majesty, it is said, very much desponded, when first he had notice of his Commanding in Chief. And so it fell out; for, at *Preston* in *Lancashire*, Lieut. Gen. *Cromwel* met with this Army, and with 11000 men, totally defeated them; so that *Hamilton* was forced to fly, and was taken by the Lord *Grey* of *Grooby*, at *Uttoxeter* in *Staffordshire*, and brought Prisoner to *London*, where, as Earl of *Cambridge*, he was afterwards for this business beheaded. But I venture not to Canonize him a Martyr.

Colchester being thus defeated of all hopes of Relief, rendred it self to the Victors, and 5 hours after the Surrender, according to a Decree of a Council of War, ensued the death of these two Noble Persons, being destined by them to be shot by a military Execution. The only Reason why they were picked out from among the rest,

was

was nothing elſe, but their ſuperlative Courage, and their fixedneſs of Duty towards the King, in whoſe Cauſe and Defence, they aſſured themſelves, they would never be wanting, as long as their Breath would laſt, were the Difficulties and Dangers of doing it, never ſo great, and ſo many. An Honourable Enemy would have ſcorned ſo unwarrantable and impotent revenge, and for which, the Names of ſome Perſons will ſtink for ever.

But never was the Meſſage of Death entertained by any with more Magnanimity, and undaunted Reſolution and Bravery of mind, both the Roman, and Chriſtian confidence ſtriving to Excellency in this harſh Encounter with an unexpected Death: Sr. *Charles* was the firſt by deſignation, to be ſacrificed to their Cruelty, who having retired himſelf a while, to offer up his laſt Prayers to God, commending his Soul into his hands, preſented himſelf to his Executioners, and tearing open his Doublet, expoſed his naked Breaſt, ſaying aloud, *Now Rebels do your worſt*; and ſo by their murdering Bullets was diſpatched in the place.

Sr. *George Liſle* was appointed to be next in this Tragedy, of whom, take this

this brief Account: He was extracted from a Gentile Family in *Surrey*, and from the beginning of the Troubles, had ſtrenuouſly and couragiouſly aſſiſted the King: The moſt remarkable place (ſaving this of his Death) where his great Spirit, and military experience moſt manifeſted it ſelf, was at the ſecond *Newberry* Battel, where he made good his ground, being Col. of a Regiment of Foot, againſt ſeveral Charges both of Horſe and Foot, of the Enemy, who did all they could, to drive him from ſome Advantages, which, could they have obtained, by ſubduing that handful of men, might have facilitated their way to Victory. This he ſuſtained, with an Invincible Reſolution, animating his Souldiers, and leading them on without any Supplies or Reſerves, ſeveral times, and for the more Encouragement, took off his own Doubler, and charged in his Shirt, bidding them, come on once more for the King, then for the Prince, then for the Duke, till ſuch time as night came, and quitted him from his hot Service and Enemies together. This noble Action was taken notice of by the K. & acknowledged ſo at Court, which rendred him deſervedly famous among the Sword-men of his own Party, and as dreadful to the

the other, ſo that having him in their hands, by this Surrender, they reſolved, to be thus cowardly and baſely rid of him.

It being, as was ſaid before, his turn to die; ſeeing and beholding that ſad Spectacle, the dead Body of his deareſt Friend, he fell upon it, and kiſſed it, as if he meant to breath into it another Soul; and with a free and full, yet true Relation of his Vertues, and Endowments, he did often repeat theſe words, *In how ſhort a moment has a brave Spirit expired! well, this Priority was due to thee, but I ſhall not be long behind thee, my Death which is now at hand, ſhall reſtore thee to me.*

After this, ſtanding up, and taking five Pieces of Gold out of his Pocket, he gave one to his Executioners, and the other four he ſent to four Friends in *London*, and then addreſſing himſelf to the ſtanders by, he ſaid, Oh, how many do I ſee here about me, whoſe Lives I have ſaved in hot bloud, and now muſt mine be taken away moſt barbarouſly in cold bloud! Sure the like was never heard of among the *Goths* and *Vandals*, or the very Barbarians, in any Age. After which words, ſome ſhort Ejaculations, and ſome few Invocations upon the name of Jeſus, as he ſtood in an unconquerable Reſolution

ſolution of mind, and in an Heroick Poſture, he was alſo diſpatched by the ſame hands.

Thus theſe 2 ſtars of the firſt Magnitude, for valourous Loyalty, were put out and extinguiſhed, by the malice of their Enemies; but though they ſhine not here, in that ſplendor, which their deſired Lives would have appeared in, yet they ſhine in a full Luſtre, in that Region of Glory, whither the Violence of their Enemies tranſplanted them.

Moſt certain it is, that upon the Ground where Sr. *Charles Lucas* fell when he was ſhot, there hath grown no graſs, where the Print of his Body was, it remaining ſtill bare, though it be green round about; an indignation of the unreaſonable, unjuſt, and cruel uſage of ſo brave a perſon; and if the Earth be puniſhed, that groan'd at their untimely end, how much more heavy will their puniſhment be, that contrived, and rejoyced at it?

Since the Reſtitution of his Majeſty, the corps of theſe *Worthies* have been taken up, and with all due Magnificence, attended by the Gentry thereabouts, and the Mayor, and other principal perſons of *Colcheſter*, interred in the Repoſitories of the Right Honourable

nourable Family of the *Lucas's*, with a Funeral Oration, and other requisite Solemnities, the deserved Honour to their precious memory.

Major Pitcher *shot to death in* St. Paul's *Church-yard*, London, *December* 29. 1648.

THis Gentleman nor his Ancestry being known unto me, I will not presume to trace him, but as the fruitfulnesse of *Nile* answers for its original Springs; so the Loyalty and gallantry of this person may satisfie our inquisition after his birth and descent, till his relations will do him the honour, and us the happiness and pleasure of a full account.

His Death was too lamentably publick, but the cause for which he died was not generally known, wherefore we will pay these justs and dues to his memory in a brief narative, of the latter part of his honourable life.

In the year 1648, when Major General

ral *Langhorne*, Collonel *Poyer*, and *Powel*, took up Arms in *Wales* for the King, this Gentleman out of his Senſe of the Kings and Kingdoms miſery, the ruine and ſacriledge daily committed on the Church, freely engaged with the ſaid perſons for the reſtoration of the Laws, and his Soveraign. But it pleaſed God not to ſucceed that enterpriſe; ſo that at St. *Fagon's* that Loyal Army of *Welch* men was defeated by the Parliament Forces, under Collonel *Horton*, from whence the remaines of that field betook themſelves to *Pembroke* Town, which being well fortified and provided, held the Army now recruited with Forces, under *Cromwell* a three-months Siege, but ſeeing no hopes of relief, after a hard defence made, the Garriſon render'd themſelves upon Articles, the main whereof, and to our purpoſe, were, that the three Collonels above named, ſhould be at mercy, all other Officers *to depart the Kingdom for three years, not to return before, upon pain of death*, and the private Souldiers to go home, engaging not to bear Arms againſt the Parliament.

In the Article of departing the Kingdom, this valarous Gentleman was concernd, who ſeeing the diſtracted eſtate of the King-

dom, and how odious the Faction at *Weſtminſter* were to the generality of the people, concluded that there might be ſome occaſion of further ſervice, and that it was baſe and ungenerous to deſert his Prince at thoſe times of exigence which called for, and required every mans helping and aſſiſting hand.

Being therefore in *London* upon the ſame deſign (in defiance of thoſe forced Articles, which contrary to all Law, baniſht a Subject from his Country, for doing his duty, and would expoſe him to the mercy of other Climates for his affection to his own) he was betrayed and apprehended, and preſently after condemned by a Council of War, for contrarying the ſaid Capitulation, and as a preparatory *Offering* to that great *Sacrifice* of the King, which followed in the next moneth; he was ſhot to death againſt St. *Faith*'s Door, a good and ſuitable prop to ſuch conſtant Loyalty, which he reſolutely maintained to his laſt, and ſo bravely expoſed himſelf to their bullets.

Collonel

Collonel Poyer *shot to death in* Covent Garden.

I Cannot deny this Gentleman a room in this Martyrology (those that came the eleventh hour, shall find entertainment) though he was formerly for the Parliament, especially because he was mainly concernd in this aforesaid businesse of *Pembroke*. He rendred at mercy, and by order of a Council of War drew lots with the other two for his life, which fell upon him, and thereupon he was shot, as aforesaid.

The

The execrable and horrid Murther of our late Martyred Soveraign King Charls *the First, of ever blessed memory.*

I Intend not to write the History of this Pious Prince, so excellently and curiously drawn by himself, and those who have traced his memorials and remains, not taking a far prospect of him, which was fair, and beautiful, and pleasant in the beginning of his Reign, but viewing neerer at hand, the black and dismal cloud, which wrapt up and enveloped his setting glories, now by Divine Justice and favour risen again to their full and radiant lustre.

We shall retrospect no further than the beginning of the *Scotch* War, at which time the Symptomes of a general Rebellion first appeared. For what the *Scots* covertly implyed in their undutiful Papers, Declarations and Remonstrances, was soon after avowedly insisted on, by the prevailing

vailing Faction of the long Parliament. The King was loaded with an heavy imputation of being led by evil Councellors, that their design was to introduce Popery, to erect an arbitrary Government, as in the busineſſe of Ship-money, Patents, and Monopolies. That he declined Parliaments as the boundaries of his unlimited Prerogative, to the great burden and oppreſſion of his Subjects. No ſooner therefore had he compoſed the *Scotch* War, but to take away and remove all jealouſie and diſtruſt of him in his People (though all along his Reign he had found ſome popular leading Grandees to be the untractable and unſatisfiable Enemies of his Kingdoms Peace) he ſummoned his laſt, the long Parliament in *November* 1640, which by a gracious Act of his, was not to be diſſolved or prorogued without their own conſent; and if that ſhould ſo determine, a Bill alſo was ſigned by him for a Triennial or perpetual Parliament, that ſo his Subjects might reſt confident and aſſured in the due manage and adminiſtration of the Government.

But theſe favours gave the Faction no other ſatisfaction, then that they ſaw they might preſume to add other demands;

and by how much more gracious his Majesty was to them, they judged they might be the more impudent towards him; in which they failed not a tittle, desiring, as their only safety from the danger of the Prerogative, the Militia in their own disposal, the only defence, and the unseparable right of his Crown.

To attain this, they most insolently by their partisans in the City, tumult him at his Court at *White-hall*, from which to avoid both the danger and dishonour that rebel rout threatned, he was compelled to withdraw, to see if by his absence that rage and madnesse might be allayed, and the two Houses set at freedom, which by his presence was the more enflamed, and the Priviledge of Parliament prostituted to the licentious and mad frenzy of the multitude.

But this afforded them their desired advantage, from hence they calumniate the King, that since he could not dissolve the Parliament, he would invalidate their Authority, and render them useless and unserviceable to those great ends, for which they were called, by refusing to concur with them, and departing from that his great Council. With these and

ſuch like ſuggeſtions they ſo filled the minds of men, who were prediſpoſed, by ſome former diſcontents, and who had their Authority (through ſome diſuſe of it) in great reverence, that every where, but eſpecially in *London*, parties were framed, intelligencies and correſpondencies held; Divers Petitions preſented in the purſuite of theſe deſigns to the Parliament, offering to ſtand by them with their lives and fortunes, to the attainment of thoſe ends held forth in their Declarations and Reſolves, which in concluſion were ſummed up in that unhappy Remonſtrance of the State of the Kingdom, by the Lords and Commons remaining at *Weſtminſter*; divers of both Houſes, either out of fear of the rabble, or conſcience of their duty, abſenting themſeves, and retired home, or followed the King's Fortune, who having traverſed ſome ground about *London* from one of his Royal Palaces to another, in hope the diſtemper would abate, and the People return to their reaſon and obedience together; at laſt finding his hopes fruſtrated, by more unreaſonable demands, every meſſage to him from the two Houſes came burdened with, he reſolved to go for *York*, and ſecure his Magazine at *Hull*. But

Sr. *John Hotham* being newly ſent thither by the Parliament, refuſed the Kings admittance into that Town, unleſs himſelf, with ſome few of his retinue would pleaſe to enter; the King paſſionately complained of this to the Parliament, but with as little redreſs, as his demand of Juſtice againſt the Authors of the Tumults, this was the Inrroduction to thoſe after violences of his Royal Perſon and Authority.

For the Parliament forthwith raiſed an Army, under the command of the Earl of *Eſſex*, and the County of *York* humbly profeſſed themſelves to the Service of his Majeſty; whereupon *Auguſt* the 22, 1642. he ſet up his Standard at *Nottingham*, whence, after he had marched into *Shrewſbury*, and having raiſed a conſiderable Army thereabouts, was on his way to *London*, he was overtaken by the Earl of *Eſſex*, at a place called *Edge Hill*, where enſued a fierce Fight, with equal loſs on both ſides, *October* 23, 1642. where God was pleaſed to cover the Kings head in the day of Battel, and permit him to fall by their execrable hands, in the time of Peace, to which he ſo often ſolicitouſly wooed them. In their Generals Commiſſion, they had tyed him up with a limitation, the preſervation

vation of the Kings Perſon, but left their bullets at random. A ſubtil time-ſerving diſtinction between the Cannon and the Axe, which afterwards they trayterouſly lifted up againſt his Annoynted and ſacred Head.

The Parliament, to ſtrengthen their Cauſe, treat with the *Scots*, and for the better mutual aſſurance, and to difference their abettors and fautors from the Kings Leige People, as well as to lay a baite for all ſacrilegious and covetous minded men, to invite them to ſupplies of money in this rebellion, enter into a Solemn League and Covenant, the main deſign whereof, was the utter extirpation (as previous and neceſſary to the Kings deſtruction) of Epiſcopacy, and the eſtabliſhed Government of the Church of *England*; Popery being added alſo for the greater colour of this engagement, againſt which the King iſſued forth his Royal Proclamation, laying open the miſchievous deſign thereof, being reſolved to maintain the Religion, ſo long and ſo happily profeſſed, and ſealed by the blood of ſo many Martyrs, in this Kingdom, to which glory and Crown far above all his other Diadems, this Defender of the Faith, was through ſo many future hazards to aſpire.

And the better to clear his innocency from those malicious aspersions, it suffered under (though the Sun at noon-day never was brighter or clearer than his entire profession of the Protestant Religion) of his being in heart a Papist, his Majesty being at *Christ-Church* in *Oxford*, in 1643, and prepared to receive the Sacrament from the hands of the Lord Arch-Bishop of *Armagh*, used these publick expressions just before the receiving of the blessed Elements.

My Lord,

'I Espy here many resolved Protestants, who may declare to the World the resolution I now do make. I have to the utmost of my power prepared my Soul to become a worthy receiver, and so may I receive comfort, by the blessed Sacrament, as I do intend the establishment of the true Protestant Religion, as it stood in its beauty in the happy dayes of Queen *Elizabeth*, without any connivance of Popery. I bless God, that in the midst of these publick distractions, I have still liberty to communicate, and may this Sacrament be my damnation, if

'if my heart do not joyn with my lips in 'this Proteſtation.

But even this moſt ſacred aſſeveration, and then, which nothing can more oblige belief and confidence, was by theſe profaners of all holy things, rejected and ſlighted, and meaſured by their own perjurious Oaths and Covenants; wherefore the King, to undeceive the Forein Reformed Churches (ſince he could not convince his own Subjects) with whom their Emiſſaries had tampered, and inſinuated the ſame deteſtable falſhood, and who ſeemed to be otherwiſe affected to this their noble Defender, than their duty required in thoſe his times of affliction, publiſhed a Declaration in *Latin*, and ſent it abroad, the tenour whereof being of main concernment to our purpoſe, is in *Engliſh* as followeth.

CHARLES *by the ſpecial Providence of Almighty God, King of* England, Scotland, France, *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith, To all thoſe who profeſs the true reformed Proteſtant Religion, of what Nation, condition and degree ſoever they be, to whom this preſent Declaration ſhall come,*

Greeting. Whereas we are given to understand, that many false Rumours, and scandalous Letters, are spread up and down amongst the Reformed Churches in Forein parts, by the politick, or rather the pernicious industry of some ill affected persons, that we have an inclination to recede from that Orthodox Religion, which we were born, baptized, and bred in, and which we have firmly professed and practised through the whole course of our life to this moment; and that we intend to give way to the introduction and publick exercise of Popery again in our Dominions, which conjecture, or rather most detestable calumny, being grounded upon no imaginable foundation, hath raised these horrid Tumults, and more than barbarous Wars throughout these flourishing Islands, under pretext of a kind of Reformation, which would not prove only incongruous, but incompatible with the Fundamental Laws and Government of this our Kingdom; We desire that the whole Christian World should take notice, and rest assured, that we never entertained in our imagination the least thought to attempt such a thing, or to depart a jot from that Holy Religion, which, when we received the Crown and Scepter of this Kingdom, we took a most solemn Sacramental Oath to profess and protect. Nor doth

our

our most constant practise, and daily visible presence in the exercise of this sole Religion, with so many asseverations in the head of our Armies, and the publick attestation of our Lords, with the circumspection used in the education of our Royal Off-spring, besides divers other undeniable Arguments only demonstrate this, but also that happy alliance of marriage we contracted between our eldest Daughter, and the illustrious Prince of Aurange, *most clearly confirms the reality of our Intentions herein; By which nuptial engagement it appears further, that our endeavours are not only to make a bare profession thereof in our own Dominions, but to enlarge and corroborate it abroad, as much as lieth in our power. This most Holy Religion with the Hierarchy and Liturgy thereof, we solemnly protest, that by the help of Almighty God, we will endeavour* to our utmost power and last period of our life, to keep entire and immovable, *and will be careful according to our Duty to Heaven, and the tenour of the aforesaid most sacred Oath at our Coronation, that all our Ecclesiasticks in their several stations and incumbencies shall preach and practise the same.*

This came very seasonably into the World, as to the Protestant part of it,

who never imagined or thought Subjects of their perſwaſion, would take up Arms, or reſiſt without ſome grievous alteration in Religion, though they condemn it in any caſe whatſoever, and therefore the Proteſtant States abroad did wholly decline their owning of them, though they did nothing poſitively for the Kings aſſiſtance, which by this means he could not rationally promiſe to himſelf from the Catholick Princes, who would not engage without ſome great advantages for his Popiſh Subjects, againſt which his Majeſty was ſo religiouſly reſolved, though he were moſt dutifully and cordially ſerved by them throughout the War.

To reſume our narrative, the Kingdom was all in a flame, the Sectaries every where finding Friends to their ſpecious *Cauſe*, and having the City of *London* for their inexhauſtible Magazine, and ſupplies of men, money, and Arms. Divers fields were fought, in the chief whereof the King himſelf was perſonally preſent, with various ſucceſs, till the year 1645, where at *Naſeby* he received that fatal overthrow, which uſhered in ſo many ſucceeding calamities, moſt unworthy of his great virtues and piety.

I can-

I cannot but obſerve, before I come to repeat the perpetration of all their complicated miſchief in his murder, how gradually his enemies forſook their allegiance; and how the paint of their religious and loyal pretences wore off by time, which will leave their fair-faced impiety indelible. Firſt, their General muſt go fight with the Kings Army, and reſcue him from his evil Councellors, but preſerve his Perſon; this Riddle was reſolved in my Lord *Fairfaxes* Commiſſion (when they had ſo far engaged their partakers, that there was no way of receding from thoſe dangerous courſes) where there was not ſuch a word, but kill and ſlay without exception. During the War all their importunate deſires were, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to disband his Army, and return to his moſt dutiful Subjects at *Weſtminſter*, afterwards towards the expiration of the War, when he urged what they had ſo vehemently obteſted, they were moſt ungraciouſly diſpleaſed at the propoſal; and ſo proceeded in concluſion to that heighth of impiety, as *Tacitus* ſpeaks of another curſed caytiffe, *Ferox ſcelerum quia prima provenerant*, their ſucceſſe in one wickedneſſe provoking them to more.

For

For the King being every where worſted and beſieged in his Chief Garriſon, the Univerſity of *Oxford*, was adviſed, and reſolved to caſt himſelf upon the *Scotch* Army, then lying at the Siege of *Newark*: The News of his Departure from *Oxford*, was no ſooner known to the Parliament, but ſuppoſing he would come to *London*, and rely upon the Affections of the City, (who were reclaimed from thoſe wild Exorbitancies, by having emptied thoſe veins of Wealth which were expended in the War, and at laſt found themſelves never the nearer thoſe things they fought for, but were every day affronted, both by the Parliament and Army) therefore they cauſed it to be proclaimed, that it ſhould be Treaſon for any to harbour the Kings Perſon (which makes every place of his Reſidence a Court, and a kind of Sanctuary) and thereupon, the Lord Mayors Houſe was ſearched, as for a Malefactor. Oh unheard of Impudence of Subjects to their Soveraign!

But they were quickly eaſed of this fear, by an Expreſſe from their Commiſſioners in the *Scotch* Army, that he was arrived there: This put them upon new Counſels; ſo they agree, if they could not get him

him out of their hands by Treaty, to obtain him by purchaſe, as our Saviour was ſold before by his own. And very ſatyrical, if true (as it is reported to be) was that Saying of Monſieur *Bellievre*, the *French* Ambaſſador (who came to the King, then at *Newcaſtle*) upon his diſmiſſing the Convoy that brought him into the Parliament Quarters, having a half Crown in his hand, he asked one of the Souldiers, how much it was that *Judas* ſold our Saviour for, who replying 30 Pieces of Silver, juſt ſo much, ſaith he, take among you, for ſelling your Lord and Maſter, and therewith gave him the half Crown; in concluſion, for 200000 Pounds the King was bargained for, and brought by the Order of the Parliament, who ſent Commiſſioners to attend him to *Holmby*, one of his own Houſes, where he was ſo ſtrictly guarded, that none of his Friends, nor his Servants, but who muſt paſſe the Allowance of the Two Houſes, were permitted to wait upon him, & they were very few, and inconſiderable beſides.

Being thus lockt up, and waiting the Pleaſure of the Parliaments Conſideration of him, who minded him no more, then as if he had been one of their Fellow Subjects, he was in the night time hurried away

way from thence, by Cornet *Joyce*, June 4. 1647. to *Childerſley*, thence, to *New-Market*, thence, to *Royſton*, to *Hatfield*, to *Windſor*, to *Caveſham*, to *Maydenhead*, to *Latimer*, to *Stoke*, to *Oatlands*, to *Sion* Houſe, and laſtly, to *Hampton-Court*, being forced to ſhift his Abode at the pleaſure of the Army, who near his Perſon, with feigned Overtures of Loyalty, and as in order to his Safety and Service, kept alwaies their Head Quarters, when the Deſign was meerly by his Preſence with them (of ſo great Reverence and Concernment are, and ought to be Princes, though devoyded of all Power, both in Rebels and Subjects eſteem, as the King himſelf excellently in his Εικὼν βασιλικὴ obſerved in this juncture) to counterbuffe and balance the unlimited uſurped Power of the Parliament, and to ſhew them that they might not expect to be abſolute or maſterleſs, as long as Intereſt and the Sword could ſerve them.

Thus was the King driven about, having no place to reſt his Head in, which preſented it not with diverſity of ſad thoughts and cares, till for ſome time, the ſpace of three Moneths, he remained, and was continued at *Hampton Court*, in ſome ſhew of Regality. During which time, ſeveral Contracts

tracts and Diſputes aroſe between the Parliament and Army, who then appeared as the Kings Friends, but in truth were no ſuch matter, but uſed his Name (as the Parliament did, in the beginning of the War) to ſhrowd their Trayterous deſigns againſt him, and to ſtrengthen the weak beginning of their Future projected Attempts, as the Parliament afterwards in their declination, to bring up themſelves, and that Reſpect, Veneration and eſteem they had ſo wretchedly forfeited, the King ſerving only as the Beam, to the Scales and Balances of each Faction and Party, which, for a while went up and down, counterpoyſing each other, till at laſt the heavy and ſad weight of the Armies Faithleſſeneſs, and unparallel'd diſloyalty, and Rebellion, brought him down to his Grave.

For the King having ſtaid at *Hampton* Court, about the time afore ſpecified, debating the Propoſitions of the Parliament, who were inſtantly and unceſſantly called upon by the People, for a ſpeedy Compoſure and Compliance with his Majeſty, the Grandees of the Army thought it high time to obviate the happy Opportunities of a Settlement, which they ſaw all good men ſo deſirous of, by the Kings Reſidence

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any longer near the City of *London*, with whom they had lately had a Bickering, and through which, they had insolently in triumph marched, to the Affront and Regret of the Citizens, the Grudge whereof, they well knew, was yet fresh and recent, and wanted but the Advantage of the Kings Person and Presence.

Therefore with deviliſh Policy, by an Instrument and Engine of their own, Col. *Whaley*, they give the King, a kindly (forsooth) Notice and Information, of an attempt and Assassinate intended against his Person, if he should venture to stay any time longer at this his Mannour, and therefore out of Duty and Affection, earnestly wisht and obtested his Majesty, to consult and provide for his safety elsewhere.

This sudden news, weighed with its probable Circumstances, and the passionate manner of the Discovery, and the King being in the custody of a most perdite sort of men, begot a Resolution of speedily withdrawing himself from the Danger. Alas, how many Vexations and Miseries did this good Prince pass, in his way and progress to more! These men that resolve to murder him publickly, make this impudent Essay of his Courage and Patience, by a coun-

counterfeited Parricide to be perpetrated privately.

By this *Achitophel*, the King is wrought out of this ſecure and advantageous Manſion, and by a ſwift flight, in company with Two of his Servants, recovered the Iſle of *Wight*, where Col. *Hammond* (Brother to the moſt Loyal, and Reverend Dr. *Hammond*, and whoſe Father was one of the Phyſitians to Prince *Henry*, and therefore the rather confided in) was Governour for the Parliament. At his Departure from *Hampton* Court, he left behind him a Paper; which for its ſad and penſive matter, but yet (as himſelf in a Cloud) reflected with Majeſtick Rayes of piercing Eleg nce, wherewith the Spirit of that good Prince was over-burdened and diſtreſt) I have thought fit to inſert.

The Kings Letter left behind him at *Hampton* Court, in his Flight to the Iſle of *Wight*.

C. R.

LIberty being that which in all times hath been, but eſpecially now is the common Theam and Deſire of all men, common reaſon ſhews, that Kings leſs then any ſhould endure Captivity. And yet, I call

call God and the World to witneſs, with what patience I have endured a tedious reſtraint; which ſo long as I had any hopes, that this ſort of my Suffering might conduce to the peace of my Kingdoms, or the hindring of more effuſion of Bloud, I did willingly undergoe; but now finding by too certain proofs, that this my continued Patience would not only turn to my perſonal ruine, but likewiſe be of much more prejudice, then furtherance to the publick good; I thought I was bound, as well by natural as political Obligations, to ſeek my ſafety, by retiring my ſelf for ſome time, from the publick view both of my Friends and Enemies: And I appeal to all indifferent men to judge, if I have not juſt cauſe to free my ſelf from the hands of thoſe who change their Principles with their condition; and who are not aſhamed openly to intend the deſtruction of the Nobility, taking away their negative voice; and with whom the Levellers Doctrine is rather countenanced then puniſhed: And as for their Intentions to my perſon, their changing, and putting more ſtrict Guards upon me, with the diſcharging moſt of all thoſe Servants of mine, who formerly they willingly admitted to wait upon me, doth ſuffi-

ſufficiently declare. Nor would I have this Retirement miſſe-interpreted; for I ſhall earneſtly and unceſſantly endeavour the ſetling of a ſafe and well-grounded Peace, wherever I am, or ſhall be, & that as much asmay be without the effuſion of more Chriſtian Bloud; for which, how many times have I deſired, preſt to be heard, and yet no ear given to me? And can any reaſonable man think, that according to the ordinary courſe of Affairs, there *can be a ſetled Peace without it? Or that God will bleſs thoſe, who refuſe to hear their own King? Surely no, Nay, I muſt further add, that, (beſides what concerns my ſelf) unleſs all other chief Intereſts have not only a hearing, but likewiſe juſt ſatisfaction given unto them, (to wit, the Presbyterians, Independants, Army, thoſe who have adhered to me, and even the Scots; I ſay there cannot (I ſpeak not of Miracles, it being, in my Opinion, a ſinful Preſumption, in ſuch caſes, to expect or truſt to them) be a ſafe or laſting Peace.*

Now as I cannot deny, but that my perſonal ſecurity is the urgent cauſe of this my Retirement; ſo I take God to witneſs, that the publick Peace is no leſs before my eyes: and I can find no better way to expreſs this my Profeſſion (I know not what a wiſer

a wiſer may do) than by deſiring and urging that all chief Intereſts may be heard, to the end each may have juſt ſatisfaction: As for example, the Army (for the reſt, though neceſſary, yet I ſuppoſe are not difficult to content) ought (in my judgment) to enjoy the Liberty of their Conſciences, have an Act of Oblivion or Indempnity (which ſhould extend to all the reſt of my Subjects) and that all their Arrears ſhould be ſpeedily and duly paid; which I will undertake to do, ſo I may be heard, and that I be not hindred from uſing ſuch lawful and honeſt means as I ſhall chuſe. To conclude, let me be heard with Freedom, Honour and Safety, and I ſhall inſtantly break through this Cloud of Retirement, and ſhew my ſelf really to be *Pater Patriæ*.

Hampton Court,
Novemb. 11. 1647.

For the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers, *pro tempore*, &c.

He was no ſooner come into the Iſle of *Wight* but *Hammond* gave notice thereof to the Parl. who were now overawed by the

the Army Eleven of their Members being impeached of High Treaſon, as they called it, for their Loyalty and Affection to his Majeſty, many not daring to appear in the Houſe, *Cromwel* and his Faction, *Jan.* 30. the black Forerunner of that his day of Martyrdom, the next Year enſuing, voted thoſe deſtructive and cruel Reſolves of no *more Addreſſes*, which were publiſhed with a Preface, in theſe words, being the hinges on which the ſad Revolutions ſucceeding, ſo direfully turned.

The Lords and Commons Aſſembled in Parliament, after many Addreſſes to his Majeſty, for the preventing and ending of this unnatural War, raiſed by him, againſt the Parliament and Kingdom, having lately ſent four Bils to his Majeſty, which did contain only matter of Safety and Security to the Parliament and Kingdom, referring the Compoſure of other Differences to a Perſonal Treaty with his Majeſty, and having received an abſolute Negative, do hold themſelves obliged to uſe their utmoſt Endeavours, ſpeedily to ſettle the preſent Government in ſuch a way as may bring the greateſt Security to this Kingdom, in the enjoyment of the Laws and Liberties thereof; and in order thereunto, that the Houſes

Houſes may receive no Delay or Interruptions in ſo great and neceſſary a work, they have taken their Reſolution, and paſſed theſe Votes following;

Reſolved by the Lords and Commons Aſſembled in Parliament, That no Application or Addreſs be made to the King, by any Perſon whatſoever, without leave of both Houſes.

Reſolved, That the Perſon or Perſons, that ſhall make Breach of this Order, ſhall incur the Penalty of High Treaſon.

Reſolved, That the Lords and Commons do declare, that they will receive no more any Meſſage from the King.

Reſolved, That no Perſon whatſoever do preſume to receive or bring any Meſſage from the King to both, or either of the Houſes of Parliament, or any other.

I ſhall not deſcant on the unparalelled unreaſonableneſs of theſe Votes, but reflect only on that ſtory of *Ahaſhuerus*, recorded in *Eſther*, to whom, no perſon of what degree ſoever durſt approach or addreſs himſelf, without he held forth his Golden Scepter; whereas here were Subjects, yea Chriſtian Subjects, holding their Soveraign off at the Swords point, denying him

him Acceſs to them, and debarring him Converſe with any Perſons, but the Inſtruments and Officers of their barbarous diſloyalty.

Upon theſe Votes, the Army cloſe with the Parliament, declaring that they would live and die with them in the purſuit of their Reſolutions; and now this Pious recluſe Prince, all humane hopes failing, being ſhut up a Priſoner, and none of his friends admitted to come near him, betakes himſelf to the Divine Aſſiſtance, ſpends his ſad hours in meditation & devotion, which heightened and perfected in him that Chriſtian Courage and reſolution, with which, he ſo nobly triumpht over the utmoſt malice of his Enemies. This ſweetned and alleviated thoſe ſorrows and unſpeakable diſtreſſes he went through; this afforded him a Calmneſs and Serenity of mind, amidſt the Storms and Tempeſts of his impetuous and angry Fate; this made him infinitly more to prize the Croſſe then the crown; witneſſe thoſe moſt incomparable ſoliloquies (which the Priſon wals ecchoed to Heaven) ſuch were theſe, *I care not to be reckoned among the unfortunate, ſo I be not in the black Liſt of ſacrilegious Princes.* Again, *As I have leiſure, ſo have I cauſe, more*

then

then enough to meditate and prepare for my death; for I know that there are but a few ſteps between the Priſons & the Graves of Princes. But ſo great and excellent is his variety of divine Conſolation and Inſtruction, that I will not loſe the Reader in my Maze of Collections, but refer him wholly to the Original, particularly, to what he hath written concerning this very Subject.

But it may be a Queſtion, whether their reiterated Propoſals, which contained alwaies the ſame unjuſt and unconſcionable Demands, even to nauſeate any man of Reaſon or Honour, were not more regretful and troubleſome to him, then this publick Sullenneſs, and dumb Solennity of laying him aſide, Sure we may be, while that Spirit thus poſſeſt the Houſes, his confinement and reſtraint was enlarged into an Heavenly Oratory, wherein he maintained a conſtant Intercourſe with the Divine Majeſty, who ſoon after revived his Cauſe, and though it gave him not Victory in the Field, yet made him Conqueror over the Affections and Prejudices of many his ſeduced Subjects.

For the Loyal Party ceaſed not ſtill to aſſert, what they had maintained by Arms, and the Irregular Illegal Proceedings of the Parlia-

Parliament and Army every day undeceived numbers, who first adhered to them. Petitions upon Petitions are presented to the houses for a Personal Treaty with the King, for the disbanding the Army, and for removal of all other grievances. Major General *Langhorn*, Collonel *Poyer*, and *Powel*, active men formerly for the Parliament, declare themselves for Him; several Towns, together with the greatest part of the Navy return to their obedience. The *Scots* with a numerous Army, wherto joyned Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, with a considerable party of *English*, entred by *Berwick*. The Kentish men rise in a body of 10000 men, part of which afterwards was beleaguered in *Colchester*. The Prince, his now Majesty, came into the Downs with a Fleet of War well equipped, so that the King appeared almost as formidable as at any time during the War. But through the unsearchable providence of God, who had ordered a more happy and glorious Crown for him, free from those cares and discontents, which in all probability would have attended his Reign here under the management an administration of his Subjects, which was to be the price of his and his Kingdoms Peace; all those en-

deavours and Martial Enterprises succeeded not, but in the middle of the year 1648. all things except the fleet were reduced again under the Parliaments power and command.

These dangers however learnt them this wisdom, that it was not safe to trifle longer, and rely wholly on the Army, the people being generally averse to them, wherefore it was concluded by them to null those former Votes of *Non Addresse*, and to make application to his Majesty, which was performed by the Earl of *Middlesex* and two Commoners, who acquainted the King with the desires of the Parliament, whereupon a Treaty was agreed on, to be held in the *Isle of Wight*, whereto five of the House of Peers, and ten Commoners were appointed, the King declared to be in full liberty, and to signifie to the two Houses what place in that Island he would particularize for the Treaty. Here attended him also such persons he sent for, and were of use to him in the management thereof. *September* the 18. it began at *Newport* in the said Isle, where the King, valuing the peace of his Subjects above all concernments of his own, except his indispensable obligations of honour and conscience, condescended

deſcended ſo far, and with reaſon ſo prevaild upon the Commiſſioners, that they came to ſome near concluſion, the reſt being referred to the Parliament. The Treaty ended the 27th of *November*, and on the fifth of *December* the Houſe of Commons voted the Kings conceſſions ſatisfactory, whereon to ground the ſettlement of the Kingdom: Hitherto the bright ſide of that cloud preſented it ſelf, which with Funeral black ſoon overcaſt the three Kingdoms.

For the Army, upon notice of the likely forwardneſs of the Treaty, deſired by all good men, who were ſenſible of the wicked contrivances and machinations of *Cromwell* and his Complices, drew up a large Remonſtrance, which was agreed on at *Windſor*, and preſented it to the Parliament, wherein they deſired that the King might be tryed by the Laws, and brought to (their) Juſtice, and all further Treaty with him to be forborn; and forthwith divided themſelves, the main body to *London*, to overcome the Houſes, and the reſt to ſeize the King, and take him into their cuſtody.

But before that, the General gave order, by his Letters, to Collonel *Hammond* to ren-

der up his command to Collonel *Eures*, who was to take charge of the King, but the Parliament countermanded all thoſe orders, and voted the Kings perſon to reſide ſtill in that Iſland.

Whereupon, the very day the Treaty ended, of which they had as ſure intelligence as the Houſes, they put on their Phariſaical vizor of piety, and kept a Faſt by themſelves, to ſeek for (that they never found) a bleſſing in their Counſels, which were in ſpight of an Oracle to the contrary, to murther and deſtroy, ſacrilegiouſly, and rebelliouſly to ſeize on the goods and Eſtates of the King, the Clergy, and all Loyal Subjects.

The effect of their Prayers ſhewed to whom they were directed, for immediately and violently, as if acted by Satanical impulſes, (while the Houſe was conſidering and debating the Kings condeſcentions, and were but juſt come to a reſolution of acknowledging the Kings Grace and favour in his condeſcentions in the late Treaty, as may be ſeen at large in Mr. *Prins* Speech to his eternal honour;) they fall upon the Parliament *December* 6. 1648. ſeclude above 140 Members, drive away through fear of their exorbitancies

tancies many others, and pack up a Juncto of the remaining Members, to ſerve their own deſigns and cruel, ignorant Ambition.

Herein how obſervable is it, that God ſuffered not the Kings moſt righteous Cauſe, to paſs unevidenced and juſtified by its adverſaries, that how gloomy ſoever it were in riſing and in its courſe, yet it ſhould ſet in glory, and have ſome kind of acknowledgment, though wrapt up in the ambiguous obſcure words of that Treaty from its very Enemies, who having their eyes opened, would, when too late, have found the way to our and their common Peace: and greater Teſtimony cannot be given.

The King, as was partly ſaid before, was now delivered into the hands of Collonel *Ewers*, *Hammond* ingratefully as diſloyally betraying the bountiful Patron and cheriſher of his family, and contrary alſo to the orders of Parliament, into the hands of the Army; who conveyed him out of the *Iſle of Wight* to *Hurſt Caſtle*, where they firſt began their barbarous and ruder incivilities.

From *Hurſt Caſtle* the King was conveyed to *Wincheſter*, where the poor loyal In-

habitants, according to cuſtom, or to hold up the reputation of that Majeſty, which thoſe fellows ſo ſcornfully and ſpitefully abuſed, cauſed the bells to be rung; the Mayor, and his Brethren the Aldermen going out of Town to meet the King, being in the midſt of a Troop of Horſe in the miry way, would have preſented him the keys of that his City, with the uſual ceremony, but they were ſoon put from their duty, thrown in the dirt; and beaten for their affection, *December* 21.

From thence he was conveyed next day to *Farnam*, with the ſame Military Guards, and thence to *Windſor*, where they locked him up, and kept as ſtrickt and ſevere, as inhumane Guards upon him, intruding upon his devotions, upbraiding him with his condition, and moſt irreverently and impudently profaning his Perſon within his hearing.

He continued here untill he had kept his laſt Chriſtmaſs, but ſo privately, in the moſt retired rooms of that Caſtle, that no perſon, but of their appointment to look to him, was ſuffered to come near him, till after that the Army had furbiſht out a new Houſe of Commons, and prepared the deſign againſt his Sacred and moſt precious Life,

Life, he was conveyed by Collonel *Harrison*, ſitting covered in the Coach with him, (though by Divine vengeance now bare-headed upon *Weſtminſter-Hall*) with a ſtrong Guard of Horſe to his Palace at S:. *James's*, and there lodged by order from their *Junćto* at *Weſtminſter*, there to wait the direful preparations for his Tryal, advanced into ſome kind of method, and lickt into ſome ravenous form already.

But what words ſhall we now uſe, what expiating ſenſe to expreſſe innocency, and without ſome taint of guilt, the flagiciouſneſs of this villany, we are about to relate? what exaggerations of crimes to ſignifie and declare this *Accumulative Treaſon*, a term firſt invented and created by the Authors of this miſchief, to weary and overburden that noble Earl of *Strafford* with his precious and moſt uſeful life, and now accompliſht? That baneful Prophetical Oracle being without all doubt (and as the immediate direction of God to *Fulfil* the *Meaſure* of the ſins of this Nation) riddled in this moſt deteſtable wickedneſs.

Herein we may behold at one view, all the miſeries and confuſions that befel the three Kingdoms, from the commencement of our troubles, whoſe large circum-

ference and ambient circles of jealouſies and fears centred in this fatal buſineſs.

That which *Caligula* moſt bloodily wiſht, that the City of *Rome* (that extended to the Empire of the World) had but one neck, theſe cruel and impious perſons had the unhappy enjoyment of, for with this Royal Martyr fell the glory and honour of theſe Nations, the people whereof, as if the blow had reached their neck too, ſtoopt and hung down their heads, as aſhamed and afraid to lift up their guilty faces towards angry Heaven.

Never were there ſo many ſorrowful and dejected looks, ſo many ſad and oppreſſed hearts, as at this deplorable occaſion. Every man preſaged his private ruine from this of the Publick, except thoſe, whoſe aimes were upon it, and who had deſigned to themſelves, the profit of this Maxime, Kill and take *Poſſeſſion*.

Nay, it ſeemed ſo barbarous, even to thoſe perſons who had inſtrumentally ſerved to the grand deſign, which they thought reached not to this extent, that the *Presbiteryan* Miniſters in and about *London*, avowedly remonſtrated againſt it, and ſubſcribed their names, laying the ſin and impiety of any proſedure againſt the King

King at their door, declaring the miſchief that would inevitably follow thereupon; all which they inforced and urged alſo from their Covenant.

While thus we would clear our ſelves, and particular men from this horrid blood-guiltineſſe, how ſhall we wipe off the ſtain from the Proteſtant Religion; it being the impious doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, *That Princes by the Popes Authority may be depoſed and murthered.* Foraign Churches of our profeſſion, have ſuffered much under this imputation, by the Papiſts themſelves upon this ſcore, & therefore we will not omit this vindication here, worthy to be written upon all our Churches, being this Royal Martyrs words, in his advice to our Soveraign, *That he ſhould not be alienated from the Religion eſtabliſhed, through any of the injuries and reproaches thrown upon him in this Rebellion, for they were not Proteſtants that did them.*

Indeed they lack names and terms for themſelves, and thoſe monſtrous facts they perpetrated, nor *Turk* nor *Jew* nor infidel will reach them, ſuch was the incomparable innocence, ſanctity and virtue of this Prince (and Heaven would have none but perfect Sacrifices) I refer the Reader therefore to

that which ſhews them beſt, that which themſelves dared to publiſh in this matter, which in ſhort is this.

There were three grand Intereſts that centred and combined in this fatal buſineſs, The firſt was that of *Oliver Cromwel*, whoſe often dreamt-of Soveraignty, egged and provoked his ambition, now propt with the power of the ſword, put him upon deſperate invaſion of his Soveraigns Crown and Life. The ſecond, was that of the Republicans or Commonwealth men, whoſe great tempting ſin to this facinorous act and main ingredient was covetouſneſs, having deſigned to themſelves the Kings Revenue, and the Churches Patrimony. The third was the Fifth Monarchy Hereſie, in whom mad ambition, and pride, and inſatiable appetite of wealth and riches were at ſtriſe for ſuperiority, or elſe ſo well blended and mixt, that it was hardly diſcernable which made the faireſt ſhew in their political and pious claim of worldly power.

Theſe three Factions thus agreed, hoping when the accurſed deed was done to overreach one another, and attain their particular ends, conſpired together, and by their joynt Counſels after they had turned

out

out the Parliament, and erected a ſelect Junćto, by their directions to theſe men, who were all parties concern'd in the ſhare of the Spoyl. A thing called an Act of Parliament having the Authority of ſome 50 Commons, ſome whereof were alſo diſſenters, (the generality of them being new elected Members by Writ of Parliament in the room of thoſe at *Oxford*) paſſed that Houſe to bring the King to Tryal, having therein appointed a High Court of Juſtice, conſiſting of ſome 80 perſons, all intereſſed Grandees, to be the Court before which the King ſhould be charged of Divers Crimes, which I abhor to relate.

This High Court of Juſtice, the monſter of *Engliſh* Judicature, according to the power given by the ſaid Act, having aſſembled firſt in the Painted Chamber, in order to ſet and braze their countenances, by ſtaring in one anothers faces, then ſwelled with Deviliſh guilt and malice, came in formality with their impudent Preſident to their pretended Court, erected at the further end of *Weſtminſter-Hall*, where the King ſoon after was brought and placed in his chair againſt the face of theſe effront Rebels. There they exhibited the charge,

charge, which the King refuſed to anſwer to, or acknowledge that rout for any kind of Authority, which he perſiſted in all the four times he was convened before them, and in concluſion (as before they had reſolved) by colour of a judicial proceeding, was moſt trayterouſly ſentenced to be beheaded, to the aſtoniſhment and unſpeakable grief of his three Kingdoms, and the horrour and ſhame of the Chriſtian World. I have thus tranſiently paſt over this unpleaſant buſineſs, becauſe it is ſo lamentably known, and publiſhed at large, in the black Tribunal, to which I refer the amazed Reader.

His Majeſties Reaſons againſt the pretended Juriſdiction of the High Court of Injuſtice, which he intended to have delivered in writing on Monday, *Jan.* 22. 1648. *but was not permitted.*

HAving already made My proteſtations, not only againſt the illegallity of this pretended Court, but alſo that no Earthly power can juſtly call Me (who am your KING) in queſtion as a Delinquent; I would not any more open My mouth upon this occaſion, more than to refer My ſelf to what

what I have ſpoken, were I alone in this caſe alone concern'd. But the duty I owe to God in the preſervation of the true liberty of My People, will not ſuffer Me at this time to be ſilent: For how can any free-born Subject of *England* call Life, or any thing he poſſeſſeth his own; if power without Right daily make new, and abrogate the old fundamental Law of the Land? which I now take to be the preſent caſe. Wherefore when I came hither, I expected, that you would have endeavoured to have ſatisfied Me concerning thoſe grounds which hinder Me to anſwer to your pretended Impeachment; but ſince I ſee that nothing I can ſay will move you to it (though Negatives are not ſo naturally proved as Affirmatives) yet I will ſhew you the Reaſon why I am confident you cannot judge Me, nor indeed the meaneſt man in *England*; for, I will not (like you) without ſhewing a reaſon, ſeek to impoſe a belief upon My Subjects.

* There is no proceeding juſt againſt any man, but what is warranted either by Gods Laws, or the municipal Laws of the Country where he lives. Now I am moſt confi-

* *Hereabout I was ſtopt, and not ſuffered to ſpeak any more concerning reaſons.*

dent,

dent, that this dayes proceeding cannot be warranted by Gods Law, for on the contrary, the authority of obedience unto Kings is clearly warranted and ſtrictly commanded both in the Old and New Teſtament; which if denied, I am ready inſtantly to prove: and for the Queſtion now in hand, there it is ſaid, That *where the word of a King is, there is power, and who may ſay unto him, what doſt thou?* Eccleſ. 8.4. Then for the Laws of this Land, I am no leſſe confident, that no learned Lawyer will affirm, that an impeachment can lye againſt the King, they all going in His Name; and one of their Maximes is, *That the King can do no wrong.* Beſides the Law, upon which you ground your proceedings, muſt either be old or new: if old, ſhew it; if new, tell what Authority warranted by the fundamental Laws of the Land hath made it, and when. But how the Houſe of Commons can erect a Court of Judicature, which was never one it ſelf (as is well known to all Lawyers) I leave to God and the World to judge: And it were full as ſtrange that they ſhould pretend to make Laws without King or Lords-Houſe, to any that have heard ſpeak of the Laws of *England.*

And

And admitting, but not granting, that the People of *Englands* Commiſſion could grant your pretended power, I ſee nothing you can ſhew for that; for certaintly you never asked the queſtion of the tenth man of the Kingdom, and in this way you manifeſtly wrong even the pooreſt Ploughman, if you demand not his free conſent; nor can you pretend any colour for this your pretended Commiſſion without the conſent at leaſt of the major part of every man in *England*, of whatſoever quality or condition, which I am ſure you never went about to ſeek; ſo far are you from having it. Thus you ſee that I ſpeak not for My own right alone, as I am your KING, but alſo for the true liberty of all My Subjects, which conſiſts not in ſharing the power of Government, but in living under ſuch Laws, ſuch a Government as may give themſelves the beſt aſſurance of their lives and propriety of their goods. Nor in this muſt or do I forget the Priviledges of both Houſes of Parliament, which this dayes proceeding doth not only violate, but likewiſe occaſion the greateſt breach of their publick Faith, that (I believe) ever was heard of, with which I am far from charging the two Houſes: for all the pre-

tended

tended crimes laid againſt Me, bear date long before this late Treaty at *Newport*, in which I having concluded as much as in Me lay, and hopefully expecting the two Houſes agreement thereunto, I was ſuddenly ſurpriſed, and hurried from thence as a Priſoner, upon which, I account I am againſt My will brought hither, where ſince I am come I cannot but to My power defend the ancient Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom, together with My own juſt right; Than for any thing I can ſee the higher Houſe is totally excluded. And for the Houſe of Commons it is too well known, that the major part of them are detained or deterred from ſitting, ſo as if I had no other, this were ſufficient for me to proteſt againſt the lawfulneſſe of your pretended Court. Beſides all this, the Peace of the Kingdom is not the leaſt in my thoughts, and what hopes of ſettlement is there, ſo long as Power reigns without rule of Law, changing the whole frame of that Government under which this Kingdom hath flouriſhed for many hundred years, (nor will I ſay what will fall out in caſe this lawleſs unjuſt proceeding againſt me do go on) and believe it, the Commons of *England* will not thank you for this change, for they will

remem-

remember how happy they have been of late years under the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, the King my Father, and My Self, until the beginning of theſe unhappy Troubles, and will have cauſe to doubt, that they ſhall never be ſo happy under any new. And by this time it will be too ſenſibly evident, that the Arms I took up, were only to defend the Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, againſt thoſe who have ſuppoſed My power hath totally changed the ancient Government.

Thus having ſhewed you briefly the Reaſons, why I cannot ſubmit to your pretended Authority without violating the truſt which I have from God, for the welfare and liberty of my People; I expect from you either clear Reaſons to convince my judgment, ſhewing me that I am in an Error (and then truly I will readily anſwer) or that you will withdraw your proceedings.

This I intended to ſpeak in Weſtminſter-Hall *on Monday,* 22 January; *but againſt Reaſon was hindred.*

After

After that horrid Sentence his Majeſty was hurried from their Bar; As he paſſed down the ſtairs, the common Souldiers (laying aſide all Reverence to Soveraignty) ſcoffed at him, caſting the ſmoak of their ſtinking Tobacco in his face (no *Smell* more offenſive to him) and flinging their foul pipes at his feet; But one more inſolent than the reſt, defiled his venerable Face with his ſpittle, for his Majeſtty was obſerved with much patience to wipe it off with his Handkerchief, and as he paſſed, hearing them cry out Juſtice, Juſtice, *Poor Souls* (ſaid he) *for a piece of money, they would do ſo for their Commanders.* That Night being Saturday *January* 27. the King lodged at *White-hall*; that evening a Member of the Army acquainted the Committee with the deſires of the King, that ſeeing they had paſſed Sentence of Death upon him, and the time of his Execution might be nigh, that he might ſee his Children, and receive the Sacrament, and that Dr. *Juxon* Biſhop of *London*, might be admitted to pray with him in his private Chamber; both which were granted.

The next day, being Sunday, *January* 28. the King was attended by his Guard, to St. *James*'s where the Biſhop of *London* preached

preached privately before him, his Text was in *Rom.* 2. 16. *In the day when God ſhall judge the ſecrets of all men, by Jeſus Chriſt according to my Goſpel.*

Monday *Jan.* 29. His Children were permitted to come to him, where paſſed this following Diſcourſe, as it was ſet down in writing by his Daughter the Lady *Elizabeth*, (which Lady *Elizabeth* ſome moneths after, being confined to *Cariſbrook-Caſtle* in the Iſle of *Wight*, died there with grief for the ſufferings of her Dear Father.)

A true Relation of the Kings *Speech to the Lady* Elizabeth *and the Duke of* Gloceſter, *the Day before his Death.*

'HIs Children being come to meet 'Him, He firſt gave his Bleſſing to 'the Lady *Elizabeth*, and bad her remem-'ber to tell her Brother *James*, when ever 'ſhe ſhould ſee him, that it was his Fathers 'laſt deſire, that he ſhould no more look 'upon *Charles* as his eldeſt Brother only, 'but be obedient unto him as his Sove-'raign; and that they ſhould love one 'another, and forgive their Fathers Ene-'mies. Then ſaid the King to her, Sweet-heart,

'heart, you'l forget this: No (ſaid ſhe) 'I ſhall never forget it whilſt I live; and 'pouring forth abundance of tears, pro-'miſed Him to write down the particu-'lars.

Then the King taking the Duke of *Glo-ceſter* upon his knee, ſaid, Sweet-heart, now they will cut off thy Fathers head (upon which words the Child looking very ſtedfaſtly on him) Mark Child what I ſay, They will cut off my head, and perhaps make thee a King: But mark what I ſay, you muſt not be a King, ſo long as your Brothers *Charles* and *James* do live; for they will cut off your Brothers heads (when they can catch them) and cut off thy head too at laſt: and therefore I charge you do not be made a King by them. At which the Child ſighing ſaid, I will be torn in pieces firſt: which falling ſo unexpectedly from one ſo young, it made the King rejoyce exceedingly.

Another

Another Relation from the Lady Elizabeths *own Hand.*

'WHat the King ſaid to me, *Jan.* '29. 1648. being the laſt time 'I had the happineſs to ſee Him, He told 'me, He was glad I was come, and although 'He had not time to ſay much, yet ſom-'what He had to ſay to me, which He had 'not to another, or leave in Writing, be-'cauſe He feared their Cruelty was ſuch, as 'that they would not have permitted Him 'to write to me. He wiſhed me not to 'grieve and torment my ſelf for Him, for 'that would be a Glorious death that He 'ſhould die, it being for the Laws and Li-'berties of this Land, and for maintaining 'the true Proteſtant Religion. He bid me 'read Biſh. *Andrews* Sermons, *Hookers* Ec-'cleſiaſtical Policy, and Biſh. *Lauds* Book 'againſt *Fiſher*, which would ground me 'againſt Popery. He told me, He had 'forgiven all His Enemies, and hoped 'God would forgive them alſo; and com-'manded us, and all the reſt of my Brothers 'and Siſters, to forgive them. He bid me 'tell my Mother, that His thoughts never 'ſtrayed from Her; and that His Love

'ſhould

'ſhould be the ſame to the laſt. Withal, 'He commanded me and my Brother to be 'obedient to her, and bid me ſend His 'Bleſſing to the reſt of my Brothers and 'Sifters, with commendation to all His 'Friends. So after he had given me His 'Bleſſing, I took my leave.

'Further, He commanded us all to for-'give thoſe People, but never to truſt 'them; for they had been moſt falſe to 'Him, and to thoſe that gave them pow-'er; and He feared alſo to their own 'Souls: and deſired me not to grieve for 'Him, for he ſhould die a Martyr, and that 'He doubted not, but the Lord would ſet-'tle his Throne upon His Son, and that we 'ſhould be all happier then we could have 'expected to have been, if He had lived; 'with many other things, which at preſent, 'I cannot remember.

Elizabeth.

Tueſday, Jan. 30. (The Fatal Day) He was about 10 of the Clock brought from his Palace at St. *James*'s to *Whitehal*, marched on foot, (guarded with a Regiment of foot Souldiers) through the Park, with their

their Colours flying, and Drums beating, his private Guard of Partizans about him, D. *Juxon* Biſhop of *London* on one ſide, and Col. *Tomlinſon* on the other, both bare-headed, bidding them go faſter, ſaying, *That he now went before them to ſtrive for an Heavenly Crown, with leſs ſolitude, then he had oftentimes bid his Souldiers to fight for an earthly Diadem.* Being come to the end of the Park, he aſcends the ſtairs, leading to the long Gallery in *Whitehal*, and ſo into the *Cabinet-Chamber*, where he formerly uſed to lodge; there his Majeſty with the Biſhop of *London*, continued for ſome time in Devotion, and received the Bleſſed Sacrament from the hand of the ſaid Biſhop; at which time, he read for the ſecond Leſſon, the 27th. Chapter of S. *Mathews* Goſpel, which contained the Hiſtory of the Death and Paſſion of our Bleſſed Saviour, the Communion ended, his Majeſty thanked the Biſhop for ſelecting ſo ſeaſonable and comfortable a Portion of Scripture. The Biſhop modeſtly replied, no thanks was due to him, for it was the Chapter appointed by the *Rubrick* of the Church for the ſecond Morning Leſſon for that day, being *Jan.* 30. Here the King continued at his Devotion, refuſing to dine, only

only about twelve of the Clock, he eat a a Bit of Bread, and drank a Glass of Claret; from thence, about one a Clock he was accompanied by Dr. *Juxon* and Col. *Tomlinson*, and other Officers, formerly appointed to attend him, and the private Guard of Partizans, with Musketeers on each side, through the Banquetting-House; adjoyning to which, the Scaffold was erected, between *Whitehal* Gate, and the Gate leading into the Gallery from S. *James*'s: The Scaffold was hung round with Black, the Floor covered with black Bayes, and the Axe and Block laid in the middle of the Scaffold. There were divers Companies of Foot of Col. *Prides* Regiment, and several Troops of Horse placed on the one side of the Scaffold towards *Kings-street*, and on the other side, toward *Charing-Cross*, and the multitudes of people that came to be Spectators very great. The King being come upon the Scaffold, it was expected he would say somwhat to the People, the which he did.

His

His Majesty being come upon the Scaffold, looked very earnestly upon the Block, and asked Col. Hacker *if there were no higher: and then spake thus (directing his Speech chiefly to Col.* Thomlinson.*)*

King. 'I Shall be very little heard of any 'body here, I shall therefore 'speak a word unto you here: indeed I 'could hold my peace very well, if I did 'not think that holding my peace would 'make some men think, that I did submit 'to the guilt, as well as to the punishment, 'but I think it is my duty to God first, and 'to my Country, for to clear my self, both 'as an honest man, a good King, and a 'good Christian. I shall begin first with 'my *Innocency*. In troth, I think it not ve-'ry needful for me to insist long upon this, 'for all the world knows that I never did 'begin a war with the two Houses of Parli-'ament, and I call God to witness, to whom 'I must shortly make an Account, That I 'never did intend for to incroach upon 'their Priviledges, they began upon me, it 'is the *Militia* they began upon, they con-'fest that the *Militia* was mine, but they 'thought it fit for to have it from me: and

'to be ſhort, if any body will look to the 'Dates of Commiſſions, of their Com-'miſſions and mine, and likewiſe to the 'Declarations, will ſee clearly, that they 'began theſe unhappy Troubles, not I: ſo 'that as the guilt of theſe Enormous crimes 'that are laid againſt me, I hope in God, 'that God will clear me of, I will not, I am 'in Charity, God forbid that I ſhould lay 'it upon the Two Houſes of Parliament, 'there is no neceſſity of either, I hope they 'are free of this guilt: for I do believe 'that ill Inſtruments between them and 'me, has been the chief Cauſe of all this 'bloudſhed; ſo that by way of ſpeaking, 'as I find my ſelf clear of this, I hope (and 'pray God) that they may too: yet for 'all this, God forbid that I ſhould be ſo ill 'a Chriſtian, as not to ſay that Gods Judg-'ments are juſt upon me: Many times he 'does pay Juſtice by unjuſt Sentence, that 'is ordinary. I will only ſay this, That an 'unjuſt Sentence * that I ſuf-*Strafford.* 'ferred to take effect, is pu-'niſhed now by an unjuſt Sentence upon 'me, this I have ſaid, to ſhew you that 'I am an Innocent man.

'Now for to ſhew you that I am a good 'Chriſtian

'Christian, I hope there is * a good man that will bear me witness, That I have forgiven all the world, and even those in particular that have been the chief causers of my death; who they are, God knows, I do not desire to know, I pray God forgive them. But this is not all, my Charity must go further, I wish that they may repent, for indeed they have committed a great sin in that particular. I pray God with St. *Stephen*, that this be not laid to their Charge, nay, not only so, but that they may take the right way to the peace of the Kingdom; for my Charity commands me, not only to forgive particular men, but my Charity commands me to endeavour to the last gasp the Peace of the Kingdom. So (Sir) I wish with all my soul (and I do hope there is some here will carry it further) that they may endeavour the Peace of the Kingdom.

* *Pointing to Dr. Juxon.*

* *Turning to some Gentlemen that wrote.*

'Now (Sirs) I must shew you both how you are out of the way, and will put you in the way: first, you are out of the way, for certainly, all the way you ever have had yet, as I could find by anything, is

'in the way of Conqueſt: certainly this is 'an ill way: for Conqueſt (Sir) in my 'opinion is never juſt, except there be a 'good juſt Cauſe, either for matter of 'Wrong, or juſt Title, and then if you go 'beyond it, the firſt quarrel that you have 'to it, is it that makes it unjuſt at the end, 'that was juſt at firſt: But if it be only mat-'ter of Conqueſt, then it is a great Robbe-'ry, as a Pirat ſaid to *Alexander*, that he 'was the great Robber, he was but a Pet-'ty Robber: And ſo, Sir, I do think the 'way that you are in, is much out of the 'way. Now, Sir, for to put you in one way, 'believe it, you will never do right, nor 'God will never proſper you, until you give 'God his due, the King his due (that is, 'my Succeſſors) and the People their due: 'I am as much for them, as any of you: 'You muſt give God his due, by regulating 'rightly his Church (according to his Scri-'ptures) which is now out of order: For 'to ſet you in a way particularly, now I 'cannot, but only this, *A National Synod, 'freely called*, freely debating among them-'ſelves, muſt ſettle this: when that every 'Opinion is freely and clearly heard.

'For the King, indeed I will not (*then 'turning to a Gentleman that touched the Ax*) 'ſaid,

'ſaid, Hurt not the Axe, that 'may hurt me*. For the King, 'the Laws of the Land will 'clearly inſtruct you for that, 'therefore, becauſe it concerns my own 'particular, I only give you a touch of it.

* *Meaning, if he did blunt the edge.*

'For the People, and truly I deſire their 'Liberty and Freedom as much as any bo-'dy whoſoever, but I muſt tell you, that 'their Liberty and Freedom conſiſts in ha-'ving of Government, thoſe Laws by 'which their Life and their Goods may be 'moſt their own. It is not for having ſhare 'in Government (Sir) that is nothing per-'taining to them; A Subject and a Sove-'raign are clean different things, and there-'fore until they do that, I mean, That you 'do put the people in that Liberty as I ſay, 'certainly they will never enjoy them-'ſelves.

'Sir, it was for this that now I am come 'here: If I would have given way to an 'Arbitrary way, for to have all Laws chan-'ged according to the power of the Sword, 'I needed not to have come here, and 'therefore I tell you (and I pray God it 'be not laid to your Charge) that *I am the Martyr of the People.*

'Introth Sirs, I ſhall not hold you much

'longer, for I will only ſay this to you, that 'in truth I could have deſired ſome little 'time longer, becauſe I would have put 'this that I have ſaid in a little more Or-'der, and a little better digeſted then I 'have done, and therefore I hope you will 'excuſe me.

'I have delivered my Conſcience, I 'pray God that you do take thoſe courſes 'that are beſt for the good of the Kingdom, 'and your own Salvations.

Dr. *Juxon. VVill Your Majeſty, though it may be very well known your Majeſties Affections to Religion, yet it may be expected that you ſhould ſay ſomwhat for the worlds ſatisfaction.*

King. 'I thank you very heartily my 'Lord, for that I had almoſt forgotten it. 'Introth Sirs, My Conſcience in Religion 'I think is very well known to all the 'world, and therefore I declare before you 'all, That I die a Chriſtian; according to 'the Profeſſion of the Church of *England*, 'as I found it left me by my 'Father; and this honeſt man* 'I think will witneſs it. *Then 'turning to the Officers, ſaid,* Sirs, excuſe 'me for this ſame, I have a good Cauſe, 'and I have a Gracious God, I will ſay no 'more.

* *Pointing to Dr.* Juxon.

'more. *Then turning to Col.* Hacker, he 'ſaid, Take care they do not put me to pain. 'and Sir, this, and it pleaſe you. *But then* '*a Gentleman coming near the Axe, the King* '*ſaid*, Take heed of the Axe, pray take heed 'of the Axe. *Then the King ſpeaking to the* '*Executioner, ſaid*, I ſhall ſay but very ſhort 'Prayers, and when I thruſt out my 'hands, ———

Then the King called to Dr. *Juxon* for his Night-cap, and having put it on, he ſaid to the Executioner, *Does my hair trouble you?* who deſired him to put it all under his Cap, which the King did accordingly, by the help of the Executioner, and the Biſhop: then the King turning to Doctor *Juxon*, ſaid, *I have a good Cauſe, and a Gracious God on my ſide.*

D. *Juxon.* There is but one ſtage more, this Stage is turbulent and troubleſom, it is a ſhort one: But you may conſider, it will ſoon carry you a very great way: it will carry you from Earth to Heaven; and there you ſhall find a great deal of cordial Joy and Comfort.

King. *I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible Crown; where no diſturbance can be, no diſturbance in the world.*

Dr. *Juxon.* You are exchanged from a

Temporal, to an Eternal Crown, a good Exchange.

The King then ſaid to the Executioner, Is my Hair well? Then the King took off his Cloak and his George, giving his George to Dr. *Juxon*, ſaying, Remember*.

* *It is thought, to give it to the Prince.*

Then the King put off his Doublet, and being in his Waſtcoat, put his Cloak on again, then looking upon the Block, ſaid to the Executioner, *You muſt ſet it faſt.*

Executioner. It is faſt, Sir.

King. *When I put my hands out this way, ſtretching them out, then*---

After that, having ſaid two or three words, (as he ſtood) to himſelf, with hands and Eyes lift up, immediatly ſtooping down, laid his Neck upon the Block: and the Executioner again putting his hair under his Cap, the King ſaid (thinking he had been going to ſtrike) ſtay for the ſign.

Executioner. Yes, I will and it pleaſe your Majeſty.

And after a very little Pauſe, the King ſtretching forth his Hands, the Executioner at one blow ſevered his Head from his Body, the head being off, the Executioner held it up, and ſhewed it to the People; which

which done, it was with the Body, put in a Coffin covered with black Velvet for that purpose, and conveyed into his Lodgings there: And from thence it was carried to his House at St. *James's*, where his Body was embalmed, & put in a Coffin of Lead, laid there a Fortnight to be seen by the people; and on the Wednesday seven-night after, his Corps embalmed and coffined in Lead, was delivered chiefly to the care of four of his Servants, *viz.* Mr. *Herbert*, Captain *Anthony Mildmay*, his Sewers; Captain *Preston*, and *John Joyner*, formerly Cook to his Majesty; they attended with others, cloathed in Mourning Suits and Cloaks, accompanied the Herse that night to *Windsor*, and placed it in that which was formerly the Kings Bed-Chamber; next day it was removed into the *Deans Hall*; which Room was hanged with Black, and made dark, with Lights burning round the Herse; in which it remained till Three in the Afternoon, about which time came the Duke of *Lenox*, the Marquess of *Hertford*, the Marquess of *Dorchester*, the Earl of *Lindsey*, having obtained an Order from the Parliament, for the Decent Interment of the King their Royal Master, provided the Expence thereof exceeded not five hun-

dred Pounds; at their coming into the Caſtle, they ſhewed their Order of Parliament to Col. *Whichcott* Governour of the Caſtle, deſiring the Interment might be in St. *Georges* Chappel, and by the Form in the Common-Prayer-Book of the Church of *England*; this Requeſt was by the Governour denied, ſaying it was improbable, that the Parliament would permit the uſe of what they had ſo ſolemnly aboliſhed, and therein deſtroy their own Act. To which the Lords replied, there is a difference betwixt deſtroying their own Act, and diſpenſing with it, and that no power ſo binds its own Hands, as to diſable it ſelf in ſome caſes: all could not prevail, the Governour perſiſting in the Negative. The Lords betook themſelves to the ſearch of a convenient place, for the Burial of the Corps, the which, after ſome paines taken therein, they diſcover a Vault in the middle of the Quire, wherein, as is probably conjectured, lieth the Body of King *Henry* the Eighth, and his Beloved Wife the Lady *Jane Seamor*, both in Coffins of Lead; in this Vault there being room for one more, they reſolve to interre the Body of the King, the which was accordingly brought to the place, born by the Officers of the Garriſon,

the

the four Corners of the Velvet Pall born up by the aforesaid four Lords, the pious Bishop of *London* following next, and other Persons of Quality, the body was committed to the Earth with Sighs and Tears, especially of the Reverend Bishop, to be denied to do the last duty and Service to his Dear and Royal Master; the Velvet Pall being cast into the Vault, was laid over the Body: upon the Coffin was these words set,

KING CHARLES, 1648.

I cannot let pass this Horrid Act of treason, without letting the world know of the Damnable hypocrisie of that Arch Traytor *Oliver Cromwel*: The Day assigned for Murdering of the King being come, the Council of War sate, which then managed all. A Letter without name was addressed to the Council, to represent to them by Reasons Conscience of and Prudence, the formidable Consequence of so strange and execrable an Execution, *Cromwel* seemed to be much toucht at it (which caused some then present, to suspect, that he had a hand in procuring it) and proposed it to the consideration of the Council, many of

which,

which, began to relent, and lean toward Compaſſion; *Cromwel* obſerving it, made a Turn toward the Door, and ſent one of his Confidents to thoſe to whom the Execution was committed, to command them to diſpatch the buſineſs; then returning to the Council-Table, made a large diſcourſe, ſhewing the Inconvenience of this Execution, and adviſed them ſo to ſecure the Perſon of the King, that he might neither do, nor receive hurt; which Diſcourſe was ſeconded by others, and re-aſſumed by himſelf, with a great many words to lengthen out the time, until one briskly entring into the Chamber, told them, Gentlemen, you may ceaſe to conſult, the Work is done, the King is executed; upon which, *Cromwel* fell down upon his Knees with great Devotion, and made an Eloquent Prayer, giving Glory to God, and acknowledging his Divine Juſtice.

A Letter (worthy Perusal) written by King Charles, *to his Son the* Prince, *from* Newport *in the Isle of* Wight, *Dated,* Nov. 29. 1648.

Son,

BY what hath been said, you may see how long We have laboured in the search of Peace. Do not you be discouraged to tread those waies in all those worthy means to restore your self to your Right; but prefer the way of Peace: shew the Greatness of your mind, rather to conquer your Enemies by pardoning them, then by punishing. If you saw how unmanly and unchristianly this implacable disposition is in our ill-willers, you would avoid that Spirit. Censure Us not, for having parted with too much of Our own Right; the Price was great, the Commodity was Security to Us, Peace to Our People. And We are confident another Parliam. would remember how useful a Kings Power is to a Peoples Liberty. Of how much We have di-

diveſted Our ſelf, that We and they might meet again in a due Parliamentary way, to agree the bounds for Prince and People. And in this give belief to our Experience, never to affect more Greatneſs or Prerogative, then what is really and intrinſecally for the good of your Subjects (not ſatisfaction of Favorites.) And if you thus uſe it, you will never want means to be a Father to all, and a bountiful Prince to any you would be extraordinarily Gracious unto. You may perceive all men truſt their Treaſure where it returns them Intereſt; and if Princes, like the Sea, receive and repay all the freſh ſtreams and Rivers truſt them with; they will not grudge, but pride themſelves to make them up an Ocean. Theſe Conſiderations may make you a great Prince, as your Father is now a low one; and your ſtate may be ſo much the more eſtabliſhed, as mine hath been ſhaken. For Subjects have learnt (We dare ſay) that Victories over their Princes, are but Triumphs over themſelves, and ſo will be more unwilling to hearken to Changes hereafter. The *Engliſh* Nation are a ſober People, however at preſent under ſome Infatuation. We know not but this may be the laſt time We may

may ſpeak to you, or the world publickly; We are ſenſible into what hand We are faln, and yet We bleſs God, We have thoſe inward Refreſhments, that the malice of Our Enemies cannot perturb. We have learnt to own our ſelf, by retiring into Our ſelf, and therefore can the better digeſt what befals Us, not doubting but God can reſtrain our Enemies malice, and turn their fierceneſs into his Praiſe. To conclude, if God give you ſucceſs, uſe it humbly and far from Revenge: If he reſtore you to your Right upon hard conditions, whatever you promiſe, keep.

Thoſe men which have forced Laws which they were bound to obſerve, will find their Triumphs full of Troubles. Do not think any thing in this world worth obtaining by foul and unjuſt Means. You are the Son of our Love: and as We direct you to what we have recommended to you, ſo we aſſure you, We do not more affectionately pray for you (to whom We are a Natural Parent) then We do, that the ancient Glory and Renown of this Nation, be not buried in Irreligion and Phanatick humour; And that all Our Subjects (to whom We are a

Politick

Politick Parent) may have ſuch ſober Thoughts, as to ſeek their peace; in the Orthodox Profeſſion of the Chriſtian Religion, as it was eſtabliſhed ſince the Reformation in this Kingdom, and not in new Revelations: And that the ancient Laws, with the Interpretation according to known practiſes, may once again be an hedge about them, that you may in due time govern, and they be governed, as in the fear of the Lord.

C. R.

The

The Lord Capel *beheaded* March 9. 1949. *in the Palace yard*, Weſtminſter.

THis Noble Lord, Noble in his Life, nobler in his Death and Memory, nobleſt in his Poſterity, who fill the trumpet of Fame, that ſummons all men to render them their deſerved honours, though he was not like ſome of our foregoing Martyrs, *viz.* Sr. *Charles Lucas*, and Sr. *George Liſle*, murthered in the inſtant of the rendition of *Colcheſter*, having quarter for life given him by the General, yet did not long ſurvive their hard fate, being brought with more ſolemnity (more perfidiouſneſs) though alike glory to his Death, which he ſuffered with a Chriſtian and (no *Roman* but *Colcheſter*) Spirit and reſolution.

He was no great Captain, nor ever undertook ſuch a charge, ſerving without any ſignal command in his Majeſties Armies, though no doubt ſufficient thereto, yet he is no leſs to be eternized for his indeavours, his courage, conſtancy and faithful adhe-

rence

rence to the King, when deſerted by a great part of the Nobility, parting with, and hazarding a great and ample Eſtate, which was ſequeſtred from him, and in concluſion laying down his life, ſo that he may juſtly be ſtiled, one of the Worthies of the *Engliſh* Nobility, and his name ever to be honourably mentioned, according to that of the Pſalmiſt, *Pſal.* 112. 6. *The Righteous ſhall be in everlaſting remembrance.*

He was Son and Heir to Sr. *Arthur Capel* of *Hadham Hall* in *Herefordſhire*, a Gentleman of Great Eſtate, and who loved and followed the old mode of our Nation, kept a Noble and bountiful Houſe, and ſhewed forth his Faith by his charity, extending it in ſuch abundant manner to the poor, that he was bread to the hungry, drink to the thirſty, eies to the blind, and legs to the lame, ſo that he might juſtly be ſtiled Great Almoner to the King of Heaven.

As this diffuſive charity and bounty ſpread it ſelf abroad, no leſs did his Relative love and Paternal affection beſtow it ſelf on this his Son, whom he moſt liberally educated, to a perfection in Learning, as his rich expreſſions and elegant ſtile in his

his Book Printed after his death, and in other letters do best evidence.

Sr. *Arthur* dying, as this Noble Lord inherited his Estate, so did he his Virtues, his pious bounty appearing so conspicuous, that some envious persons, who hate good works in others, because they will do none themselves, have maliciously traduced him as inclining to Popery. But as such aspersions amongst persons of understanding, signifie nothing more than the speakers malice, so wrought it in others a deserved commendation of this Noble Person, especially in those times (and our own are worse) when Charity lay bed-rid, and Faith only and such hungry notions were talkt of, whereas his Faith appeared by his works.

From the degree of Knight the ancient Dignity of his Family, now advanced to the Earldom of *Essex*, he was made Baron *Capel*, of *Hadham*, a little before the time the Earl of *Strafford* received his Tryal, which in this brave Lords conscientious Judgment of himself, was his original condemnation in *foro cœli*.

During the Rebellion and those differences between the King and Parliament, he constantly and faithfully adhered to his

his Majeſty, contributing both in purſe and perſon to his aid and aſſiſtance, being appointed in that time for his eminent wiſdom and prudence Counceilour to the Prince by the King his Father, whom he abandoned not till the disbanding of my Lord *Hopton*'s Army in *Cornwall*, from whence his Highneſs took ſhipping to *Scilly*, giving my Lord an honourable, but ſorrowful diſmiſſion and conge to return home and attend, (though his heroical mind ſpur'd him on to purſue) his moſt unworthy fate.

For at his coming home upon thoſe Articles, having ſcarce warmed himſelf there after his long abſence from thence, but ſome hopes appearing of the King's reſtauration to his former Authority, by the coming in of Duke *Hamilton* with a potent Army, as alſo by the *Welch* Inſurrection, and the riſing of ſeveral Counties, who declared for the ſame purpoſe, he with a ſelect number of his friends, acquaintance, and ſervants, joyned himſelf with the Lord *Goring*, Sr. *Charles Lucas*, and others, who with a conſiderable Army were then in *Eſſex*, and after a long Siege were forced to ſurrender their Garriſon of *Colcheſter*.

In

In the Articles of that rendition, this right noble Lord was included, and had quarter given him for life, though it was afterwards unhanſomly unſaid again by him that gave it, who left him, after his Parol given, to a High Court of Juſtice; upon this ſurrender he was committed to the Tower, where whilſt he remained, he endeavoured to eſcape, which he well effected; but croſſing the water, through ſome diſcourſe he let fall, *Jones* the Waterman, conceiving what he was, upon his landing diſcovered him, had him retaken, and committed again in order to his Tryal.

In the middle of *March* 1648, he was brought before the ſaid High Court of Juſtice, where he ſaid enough in reaſon and juſtice to have cleared himſelf, inſiſting upon his Priviledge as a Peer, and claiming the benefit of the Laws, which owned no ſuch arbitrary Power as this, againſt the life of any Subject, eſpecially a Noble Man, and in ſum denied their Juriſdiction, and pleaded his quarter given him as aboveſaid, but nothing would avail, they proceeded to Judgment, and with Duke *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Holland*, Earl of *Norwich*, and Sr. *John Owen*, ſentenced him

him to be beheaded, which was executed accordingly on the ninth of *March*.

We will now take a view of him after the time of his Condemnation, when he was to encounter and look Death in the face. He alwaies kept a very chearful and well compoſed temper of mind, which proceeded from true Chriſtian Principles, he would often ſay, it was the *good God he ſerved, and the good cauſe he had ſerved for, that made him not to fear Death*, adding, *that he never had the temptation of ſo much as a thought to check him for his engagement in this quarrel, for he took it for his Crown and glory, and wiſhed he had a greater ability, and better fortune to engage in it.*

The afternoon before his ſuffering, he was a great while in private with a Miniſter, where bewailing, with that ſenſe which became a true, and not deſpairing penitent, the ſins of his life paſt, the greateſt he could remember, was his voting my Lord of *Straffords* death, which though, as he ſaid, he did without any malice at all, yet he confeſſed it to be a very great ſin, and that he had done it out of a *baſe fear* (his own words) of a prevailing party, of which he had very often and very heartily repented,

repented, and was confident of Gods pardon for it. Then he desired to receive the Blessed Sacrament before he dyed. After this (being afraid of some danger to the Minister that attended him, for that work of Love) and some Conference in order to his preparation, both for his provision and his voyage, the Sacrament and his death, he desired to go to Prayers, which being performed, he returned to his private devotions.

The next morning being the day of his death, he desired the Minister, who was with him before, to hear, and joyn with him in Prayers, which he did, for half an hour in an excellent method, very apt Expressions, and most strong, hearty and passionate affections; First confessing and bewailing his sins with strong cries and tears, then humbly and most earnestly desiring Gods mercy through the Merits of Christ alone. Secondly, For his dear Lady and Children with some passion, but for her especially with most ardent affections, recommending them to the Divine Providence with great confidence and assurance, and desiring for them rather the blessings of a better life than of this. Thirdly, For the King, Church and Kingdom.

dom. And Laſtly, For his Enemies, with almoſt the ſame ardour and affection.

After Prayer ended, my Lord of *Norwich* and Sr. *John Owen* being ſent for, the Miniſter read the whole Office of the Church for Good Friday, and then after a ſhort Homily for the occaſion, he received the Sacrament again, in which action he behaved himſelf with great Humility, Zeal and Devotion.

Being demanded after the receiving thereof how he found himſelf, he replyed very much better, ſtronger and cheerfuller for that heavenly repaſt, and that he doubted not to walk like a Chriſtian through the vale of death in the ſtrength of it. But he was to have an Agony before his Paſſion, and that was the parting with his Wife, eldeſt Son, now Earl of *Eſſex*, his Son in Law, two of his Uncles, and Sr. *T. C.* eſpecially his parting with his deareſt Lady, which indeed was the ſaddeſt ſpectacle that could be. In which occaſion, as he could not chooſe but ſhew and confeſſe a little of humane frailty, yet even then, he did not forget both to comfort and counſel her, and the reſt of his friends; particularly in bleſſing the yuong Lord, he commanded him never to revenge his death

death, though it ſhould be in his power, the like he ſaid unto his Lady. He told his Son he would leave him a Legacy out of *David's* Pſalms, and that was this, *Lord lead me in a plain path. For Boy* (ſaith he) *I would have you a plain honeſt man, and hate diſſimulation.*

After this was paſt, with much adoe his Wife and the reſt of his Friends were perſwaded to begone, and then being all alone with the Miniſter, he ſaid, *Doctor, the hardeſt part of my work in this World is now paſt*, meaning the parting with his Wife. Then he deſired the ſaid Miniſter to pray preparatively for his death, that in the laſt action he might ſo behave himſelf, as might be *moſt for Gods Glory, for the indearing of his dead Maſters memory, and his preſent Maſters ſervice*, and that he might avoid the doing or ſaying of any thing, which might favour either of ambition or vanity. This being done, he was conveyed with the other two Lords, who ſuffered with him to Sr. *Robert Cottons*, where the Miniſter ſtaid with him till he was called to the Scaffold, whither the Guard of Souldiers permitted him not to come, ſo that my Lord took leave of him there.

The ſame day he died, he wrote this following Letter to his Wife.

My deareſt Life;

MY Eternal life is in Chriſt Jeſus: my wordly conſiderations in the higheſt degree thou haſt deſerved, let me live long here in thy dear memory, to the comfort of my Family, our dear Children, whom God out of mercy in Chriſt hath beſtowed upon us. I beſeech thee take care of thy health, ſorrow not, afflict not thy ſelf too much; God will be unto thee better than an Husband, and to my Children better than a Father: I am ſure he is able to be ſo: I am confident he is graciouſly pleaſed to be ſo. God be with thee, my moſt vertuous Wife. God multiply many Comforts to thee and my Children, which is the fervent Prayer of

Thy, *&c.*

He

He hath alſo left behind him an excellent Book of Meditations, and ſome other Miſcellaneous things, eſpecially an Exhortation to ſtir up the hearts and endeavours of men to have ſaved the precious life of the King, *&c.* which being to be had, will need no other Commendation.

When the other two Lords were beheaded, he was brought laſt to the Scaffold, where he ſpake as followeth.

His Lordſhip in the way to the Scaffold, put of his hat to the People on both ſides, looking very auſterely about him: And being come upon the Scaffold, Lieut. Collonel Beecher *ſaid to him,* Sir, Is your Chaplain here?

CAPEL. No, I have taken my leave of him: and perceiving ſome of his Servants to weep, he ſaid, Gentlemen, refrain your ſalves, refrain your ſelves; and turning to Lieut. Col. *Beecher*, he ſaid, what? did the Lords ſpeak with their hats off, or no?

Col. Beech. *With their Hats off: And then coming to the front of the Scaffold, he ſaid, I ſhall hardly be underſtood here, I think, and then began his Speech as followeth.*

Capel. The concluſion that I made with thoſe that ſent me hither, and are the cauſe of this violent death of mine, ſhall be the beginning of what I ſhall ſay to you: When I made an addreſs to them (which was the laſt) I told them with much ſincerity, that I would pray to the God of all mercies, that they might be partakers of his ineſtimable and boundleſs mercies in Jeſus Chriſt; and truly I ſtill pray that Prayer; and I beſeech the God of Heaven forgive any injury they have done to me, from my Soul I wiſh it. And truly, this I tell you as a Chriſtian, to let you ſee I am a Chriſtian. But it is neceſſary I ſhould tell you ſomewhat more, that I am a Proteſtant: And truly, I am a Proteſtant, and very much in love with the profeſſion of it, after the manner as it was eſtabliſhed in *England* by the Thirty nine Articles; a bleſſed way of profeſſion, and ſuch an one as truly, I never knew none ſo good. I am ſo far from being a Papiſt, which ſome body have (truly) very unworthily at

ſome

some time charged me withall, that truly, I profess to you, that though I love Good Works, and commend Good Works, yet I hold they have nothing at all to do in the matter of Salvation; my Anchor-hold is this, *That Christ loved me, and gave himself for me*; that is that that I rest upon.

And truly something I shall say to you as a Citizen of the whole World, and in that consideration I am here condemned to die, truly contrary to the Law that governs all the World, that is, the Law of the Sword: I had the protection of that for my life, and the honour of it, but truly I will not trouble you much with that, because in another place I have spoken very largely and liberally about it. I believe you will hear by other means what Arguments I used in that case: But truly, that, that is stranger, you that are English-men, behold here an English-man here before you, and acknowledged a Peer, not condemned to die by any Law of *England*, not by any Law of *England*; nay, shall I tell you more? (which is strangest of all) contrary to all the Laws of *England* that I know of. And truly I will tell you, in the matter of the civil part of my death, and

the Cauſe that I have maintained, I die (I take it.) for maintaining the fifth Commandment, injoyned by God himſelf, which enjoyns reverence and obedience to Parents: All Divines on all hands, though they contradict one another in many ſeveral opinions, yet all Divines on all hands do acknowledge, that here is intended Magiſtracy and Order; and certainly I have obeyed that Magiſtracy and that Order underwhich I have lived, which I was bound to obey: and truly, I do ſay very confidently, that I do die here for keeping, for obeying that fifth Commandment given by God himſelf, and written with his own finger. And now, Gentlemen, I will take this opportunity to tell you, That I cannot imitate a better, nor a greater ingenuity than his, that ſaid of himſelf, *For ſuffering an unjuſt judgment upon another, himſelf was brought to ſuffer by an unjuſt judgment.* Truly, Gentlemen, that God may be glorified, that all men that are concerned in it, may take the occaſion of it, of humble repentance to God Almighty for it, I do here profeſs to you, that I did give my Vote to that Bill againſt the Earl of *Strafford*; I doubt not but God Almighty hath waſhed that away with a more

more precious blood, the Blood of his own Son, and my dear Saviour Jesus Christ; and I hope he will wash it away from all those that are guilty of it: truly, this I may say, I had not the least part nor degree of malice in doing of it; but I must confess again to Gods glory, and the accusation of mine own frailty, and the frailty of my Nature, that truly it was unworthy Cowardize, not to resist so great a torrent as carried that business at that time. And truly, this I think I am most guilty of, of not courage enough in it, but malice I had none; but whatsoever it was, GOD I am sure hath pardoned it, hath given me the assurance of it, that Christ Iesus his Blood hath washed it away; and truly, I do from my Soul wish, that all men that have any stain by it, may seriously repent, and receive a remission and pardon from God for it. And now, Gentlemen, we have had an occasion by this intimation to remember his Majesty, our KING, that last was; and I cannot speak of him, nor think of it, but truly I must needs say, that in my opinion, that have had time to consider all the images of all the greatest and vertuousest Princes in the World; and truly, in my opinion,

there was not a more vertuous, and more ſufficient Prince known in the World, than our gracious King *CHARLES* that died laſt: God Almighty preſerve our King that now is, his Son; God ſend him more fortunate and longer dayes; God Almighty ſo aſſiſt him, that he may exceed both the vertues and ſufficiencies of his Father: For certainly, I that have been a Councellour to him, and have lived long with him, and in a time when diſcovery is eaſily enough made, for he was young (he was about thirteen, fourteen, fifteen, or ſixteen years of age) thoſe years I was with him, truly, I never ſaw greater hopes of vertue in any young perſon than in him; great judgment, great underſtanding, great apprehenſion, much honour in his nature, and truly a very perfect Engliſhman in his inclination; and I pray God reſtore him to this Kingdom, and unite the Kingdoms one unto another, and ſend a great happineſſe both to you and to him, that he may long live and Reign among you, and that that Family may Reign till thy Kingdom come, that is, while all temporal power is conſummated: I beſeech God of his mercy give much happineſſe to this your King, and to you, that in it ſhall be

be his Subjects, by the Grace of Iesus Christ.

Truly I like my beginning so well, that I will make my conclusion with it, that is, That God Almighty would confer, of his infinite and inestimable Grace and mercy, to those that are the causers of my coming hither, I pray God give them as much mercy as their hearts can wish; and truly, for my part, I will not accuse any one of them of malice, truly I will not; nay I will not think there was any malice in them: what other ends there is I know not, nor will I examine; but let it be what it will, from my very Soul I forgive them every one. And so the Lord of Heaven blesse you all, God Almighty be infinite in goodnesse and mercy to you, and direct you in those wayes of obedience to his Commands, to His Majesty, that this Kingdom may be an happy and glorious Nation again, and that your King may be an happy King in so good and so obedient a people. God Almighty keep you all, God Almighty preserve this Kingdom, God Almighty preserve you all.

Then turning about, and looking for the Executioner (who was gone off the Scaffold) said, which is the Gentleman? which

is the man? Anſwer was made, He is coming; He then ſaid, Stay, I muſt pull off my Doublet firſt, and my Waſtcoat: and then the Executioner being come upon the Scaffold, the Lord *Capel* ſaid, O friend! prethee come hither: Then the Executioner kneeling down, the Lord *Capel* ſaid, I forgive thee from my Soul, and not only forgive thee, but I ſhall pray to God to give thee all grace for a better life: There is five pound for thee; and truly, for my clothes, and thoſe things, if there be any thing due to you for it, you ſhall be fully recompenced: but I deſire my body may not be ſtripped here, and no body to take notice of my body but my own Servants. Look you Friend, this I ſhall deſire of you, that when I lye down, you would give me a time for a particular ſhort Prayer.

Lieu. Col. Beecher. *Make your own ſign my Lord.*

Capel. Stay a little: Which ſide do you ſtand upon? (ſpeaking to the Executioner;) Stay, I think I ſhould lay my hands forward that way *pointing* (*fore-right*) and anſwer being made, Yes; he ſtood ſtill a little while, and then ſaid, God Almighty bleſſe all this people, God Almighty ſtench this blood, God Almighty ſtench, ſtench,

ſtench, ſtench this iſſue of blood; this will not do the buſineſs, God Almighty find out another way to do it. And then turning to one of his Servants, ſaid, *Baldwin*, I cannot ſee any thing that belongs to my Wife; but I muſt deſire thee and beſeech her to reſt wholly upon Jeſus Chriſt, to be contented and fully ſatisfied: and then ſpeaking to his Servants, he ſaid, God keep you; and Gentlemen, let me now do a buſineſs quickly, privately, and pray let mee have your prayers at the moment of death, that God would receive my Soul.

L. Col. Beecher. *I wiſh it.*

Capel. Pray at the moment of ſtriking joyn your Prayers, but make no noiſe (turning to his Servants) it is inconvenient at this time.

Servant. *My Lord put on your cap.*

Capel. Should I, what will that do me good? Stay a little, it is well as it is now. *As he was putting up his hair.*

And then turning to the Executioner, he ſaid, honeſt man, I have forgiven thee, therefore ſtrike boldly; from my Soul I do it.

Then a Gentleman ſpeaking to him, he ſaid, Nay, prethee be contented, be quiet,

quiet, good Mr. ——— be quiet.

Then turning to the Executioner, he ſaid, Well; you are ready when I am ready, are you not? and ſtretching out his hands, he ſaid, Then pray ſtand off Gentlemen. Then going to the front of the Scaffold, he ſaid to the People, Gentlemen, though I doubt not of it, yet I think it convenient to ask it of you, That you would all joyn in Prayers with me, That God would mercifully receive my Soul, and that for his alone mercies in Chriſt Ieſus. God Almighty keep you all.

Execut. *My Lord ſhall I put up your hair?*

Capel. I, I, prethee do; and then as he ſtood, lifting up his hands and eyes, he ſaid, O God, I do with a perfect and willing heart ſubmit to thy will: O God! I do moſt willingly humble my ſelf: and then kneeling down, ſaid, I will try firſt how I can Lye; and laying his head upon the Block, ſaid, Am I well now?

Execut. *Yes.*

And then as he lay with both his hands ſtretched out, he ſaid to the Executioner, Here lie both my hands out, when I lift up my hands thus [*lifting up his right hand*] then you may ſtrike.

And

And then after he had ſaid a ſhort Prayer, he lifted up his right hand, and the Executioner at one blow ſevered his head from his body, which was taken up by his Servants, and put (with his body) into a coffin.

I Shall omit Duke *Hamilton*, not only becauſe of another Nation, though a Peer of this, but becauſe, it is in queſtion, whether he ſuffered not for obeying the commands of the *Scotch* Parliament and Kirk, who ſent him as General in that Expedition, and that the Kings Intereſt was but collateral. Let him therefore reſt in his honourable grave, while we ſoftly and reverently paſs over it to that of the Earl of *Holland*. Henry

Henry *Earl of* Holland *beheaded on the Scaffold in the Palace-yard at* Weſtminſter, *at the ſame time.*

THis Lord in the beginning of the Reign of King *Charles* the Martyr, was his ſpecial favourite and peculiar friend; ſo that after that aſſaſſinate upon the Duke of *Buckingham*, he was made Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, having been newly before from Baron *Rich* of *Kenſington*, raiſed to the Honour of the Earldom of *Holland*, and ſent Colleague with the Earl of *Carliſle* in that ſplendid Embaſſy into *France*, about the marriage of the Queen Mother.

Notwithſtanding all theſe favours ſo freely conferred on him, ſo uncertain, variable and unobligeable are the minds of men (for I cannot impute his ſiding with the Parliament to have been from any diſguſt or diſlike he received from the King) eſpecially when Religion becomes the bone of contention; he was one of thoſe Lords that

that remained at *London*, and made up a Houſe of Peers, although he never took up Arms, Command or Employment againſt his good Maſter and Soveraign.

About the middle of the War ſeeing how unreaſonably the Parliament perſiſted in carrying on the War, being ſo often fruitleſly courted by the King to an accommodation, he and the Earl of *Bedford* forſook their part and quarrel, and eſcaped to the King at *Oxford*, where finding not that kind and favourable reception they expected, being looked on ſhily by the Court there, eſpecially this Lord, he privately departed to *London* again, having left a fair account of himſelf to the King.

But when the War was ended, and the Parliament had refuſed to treat with his Majeſty, and ſo to ſettle the Kingdom, he then took up Arms in earneſt in the Kings behalf, being real and cordial on this his laſt undertaking, and engaged with him the Duke of *Buckingham*, Earl of *Peterborough*, Lord *Francis Villers*, and Lord *Peter*, who with a gallant company of men rendezvouz'd at *Kingſton*, where immediately Sr. *Michael Liveſey* ſet upon them, and routed them. The Earl fled to St. *Neets* in *Bedfordſhire*, where in his Quarters he

was

was taken by Collonel *Scroop's* Regiment of Horſe, where Collonel *Dolbier* was killed, and by order of the Parliament ſent Priſoner to *Warwick* Caſtle.

He continued there for the ſpace of ſix moneths in pretty good health, both of body and mind, but as ſoon as he heard of the murther of the King, his heart failed him, and ſickneſs ſeized on him, ſo that he never dawed day afterwards, nor could endure to ſtir out of his chamber, lamenting the loſs of his gracious Maſter, and providing for his own violent diſſolution the ſame way, which being condemned by the ſame High Court of Iuſtice, with my Lord *Capel* and Duke *Hamilton*, he ſuffered on the ſame Scaffold.

His

His Lordſhips Speech on the Scaffold, immediatly before his Death,
March 9. 1649.

Holland.

IT is to no purpoſe (I think) to ſpeak any thing here. Which way muſt I ſpeak? And then being directed to the Front of the Scaffold, he (leaning over the Rayls) ſaid; I think it is fit to ſay ſomthing, ſince God hath called me to this place. The firſt thing which I muſt profeſs, is, what concerns my Religion, and my Breeding, which hath been in a good Family, that hath ever been faithful to the true Proteſtant Religion, in the which I have been bred, in the which I have lived, and in the which, by Gods Grace and Mercy I ſhall die. I have not lived according to that Education I had in that Family where I was born and bred. I hope God will forgive me my ſins, ſince I conceive it is very much his pleaſure to bring me to this place, for the ſins that I have committed. The cauſe that

that hath brought me hither, I believe, by many hath been much miſtaken. They have conceived that I have had ill Deſigns to the State, and to the Kingdom; Truly I look upon it as a Judgment; and a juſt Judgment of God, not but I have offended ſo much the State, and the Kingdom, and the Parliament, as that I have had no extream vanity in ſerving them very extraordinarily. For thoſe Actions that I have done, I think it is known they have been ever very faithful to the Publick, and very particularly to Parliaments. My Affections have been ever expreſt truly and clearly to them. The diſpoſitions of Affairs now have put things in another poſture then they were when I was engaged with the Parliament. I have never gone off from thoſe Principles that ever I have profeſſed; I have lived in them, and by Gods Grace will die in them. There may be Alterations and Changes that may carry them further then I thought reaſonable, and, truly there I left them: But there hath been nothing that I have ſaid, or done, or profeſſed, either by Covenant or Declaration, which hath not been very conſtant and very clear, upon the Principles that I ever have gone upon; which was to ſerve

the

the King, the Parliament, Religion (I ſhould have ſaid in the firſt place) the Common-wealth, and to ſeek the Peace of the Kingdom; That made me think it no improper time, being preſt out by Accidents and Circumſtances, to ſeek the Peace of the Kingdom, which I thought was proper, ſince there was ſomthing then in Agitation, but nothing agreed on, for ſending Propoſitions to the King, that was the furtheſt aim that I had, and truly beyond that I had no Intention, none at all. And God be praiſed, although my Bloud comes to be ſhed here, there was I think ſcarce a drop of Bloud ſhed in that Action that I was ingaged in. For the preſent Affairs as they are, I cannot tell how to judge of them; and truly they are in ſuch a condition, as (I conceive) no body can make a judgment of them; and therefore I muſt make uſe of Prayers, rather then of my Opinion; which are, That God would bleſs this Kingdom, this Nation, this State; that he would ſettle it in a way agreeable to what this Kingdom hath bin happily governed under; by a King, by the Lords, by the Commons; a Government that I conceive it hath flouriſhed much under, and I pray God the change of it bring not rather a Prejudice, a diſorder

diſorder, and a confuſion, then the contrary. I look upon the Poſterity of the King, and truly my Conſcience directs me to it, to deſire, that if God be pleaſed, that theſe people may look upon them with that Affection that they owe, that they may be called in again, and they may be, not through bloud, nor through diſorder, admitted again into that power, and to that glory, that God in their birth intended to them. I ſhall pray with all my ſoul for the happineſs of this State, of this Nation, that the Bloud which is here ſpilt, may even be the laſt that may fall among us; and truly I ſhould lay down my Life with as much Chearfulneſs as ever perſon did, if I conceived that there would be no more Bloud follow us; for a State or Affairs that are built upon Bloud, is a Foundation for the moſt part that doth not proſper.

After the Bleſſing that I give to the Nation, to the Kingdom, and truly to the Parliament, I do wiſh with all my heart, happineſs and a bleſſing to all thoſe that have been Authors in this buſineſs; and truly, that have been Authors in this very work that bringeth us hither: I do not only forgive them, but I pray heartily and really for them, as God will forgive my ſins, ſo I deſire God may forgive them. I have

I have a particular Relation, as I am Chancellor of *Cambridge*, and truly I must here, since it is the last of my Prayers, pray to God that that University may go on in that happy way which it is in, that God may make it a Nursery to plant those persons that may be distributed to the Kingdom, that the souls of the people may receive a great benefit, and a great advantage by them, and (I hope) God will reward them for their kindness, and their affections that I have found from them *. I have said what Religion I have been bred in, what Religion I have been born in, what Religion I have practised, I began with it, and I must end with it. I told you that my Actions & my Life have not been agreeable to my Breeding. I have told you likewise that the Family where I was bred, hath been an exemplary Family (I may say so, I hope, without Vanity) of much affection to Religion, and of much faithfulness to this Kingdom, and to this State, I have endeavoured to do those Actions that became an honest man, and a good *English man*, and which became a good Christian. I have been willing to oblige those that have been in trouble, those that have

* *Looking towards Mr.* Bolton.

have been in Perſecution, and truly I find a great Reward of it; for I have found their Prayers and their kindneſs now in this diſtreſs, and in this condition, and I think it a great reward, and I pray God reward them for it.

I am a great ſinner, and I hope God will be pleaſed to hear my prayers, to give me faith to truſt in him, that as he hath called me to death at this place, he will make it but a paſſage to an eternal Life through Jeſus Chriſt, which I truſt to, which I rely upon, and which I expect by the Mercy of God. And ſo I pray God bleſs you all, and ſend that you may ſee this to be the laſt execution, and the laſt bloud that is likely to be ſpilt among you. And then turning to the ſide-rayl, he prayed for a good ſpace of time; after which, Mr. *Bolton* ſaid,

My Lord, now look upon him whom you have truſted. My Lord, I hope that here is your laſt Prayer, there will no more Prayers remain, but Praiſes; and I hope that after this day is over, there will a day begin that ſhall never have end; and I look upon this (my Lord) the Morning of it, the Morning of that day. My Lord, You know where your Fulneſs lies, where your riches lie, where is your only Rock to anchor on; you know there

is

is fulneſs in Chriſt: If the Lord comes not in with fulneſs of Comfort to you, yet reſolve to wait upon him while you live, and to truſt in him when you die; and then ſay, I will die here, I will periſh at thy feet, I will be found dead at the feet of Jeſus Chriſt. Certainly, he that came to ſeek and ſave loſt ſinners, will not reject loſt ſinners when they come to ſeek him; He that intreateth us to come, will not ſleight us when we come to intreat him. My Lord, there is enough there, and fix your heart there, and fix your eyes there, that eye of Faith, and that eye of Hope; exerciſe theſe Graces now, there will be no exerciſe hereafter. As your Lordſhip ſaid, here take an end of Faith, and take an end of Hope, and take a Farewel of Repentance, and all theſe; and welcome God, and welcome Chriſt, and welcome Glory, and welcome Happineſs to all Eternity; and ſo it will be an happy paſſage then, if it be a paſſage here from miſery to happineſs. And though it be but a ſad way, yet, if it will bring you into the preſence of Joy, although it be a Valley of Tears, although it be a ſhadow of death, yet if God will pleaſe to bring you, and make it a paſſage to that happineſs, welcome Lord. And I doubt not, but God will give you an heart to taſt ſome ſweetneſs and Love in this bitter Potion, and to ſee

ſomthing

something of Mercy and Goodness to you, and shew you some sign and token of good, so that your soul may see that which we have had already experience of (blessed be God for it) many Experiences, many Expressions, not only in words, nor tears; God hath not left us without much Comfort and evidence, and I hope (my Lord) *you that have given so many Evidences to us, I hope you want none your self, but that the Lord will be pleased to support you, and bear up your Spirit, and if there want Evidence, there is Reliance, my security lies not in my knowing that I shall come to Heaven, and come to Glory, but in my resting and relying upon him; when the Anchor of Faith is thrown out, there may be shakings and tossings, but there is Safety; nothing shall interrupt Safety, although something may interrupt Security: my safety is sure, although I apprehend it not: and what if I go to God in the dark? What if I come to him, as* Nicodemus *did, staggering in the night? It is a night of trouble, a night of darkness, though I come trembling and staggering in this night, yet I shall be sure to find comfort and fixedness in him. And the Lord of Heaven be the strength, stay and support of your soul, and the Lord furnish you with all those Graces which may carry you into the bosom of the Lord Jesus, that when you expire this life,*

you

you may be able to expire it into him, in whom you may begin to live to all Eternity; and that is my humble Prayer.

Holland. M. *Bolton,* God hath given me long time in this world; he hath carried me through many great accidents of fortune, he hath at last brought me down into a condition, where I find my self brought to an end, for a dis-affection to this State, to this Parliament, that (as I said before) I did believe no body in the world more unlikely to have expected to suffer for that cause; I look upon it as a great Judgment of God for my sins. And truly, Sir, since that the death is violent, I am the less troubled with it, because of those violent deaths that I have seen before; principally my Saviour, that hath shewed us the way, how, and in what manner he hath done it, and for what cause, I am the more comforted, I am the more rejoyced. It is not long since the King my Master passed in the same manner; and truly I hope that his purposes and intentions were such, as a man may not be ashamed, not only to follow him in the way that was taken with him, but likewise not ashamed of his purposes, if God had given him life. I have often disputed with him concerning many

things of this kind, and I conceive his ſufferings, and his better knowledge, and better underſtanding (if God had ſpared him life) might have made him a Pr. very happy toward himſelf & this Kingdom. I have ſeen and known that thoſe bleſſed ſouls in Heaven have paſſed thither by the gate of ſorrow, and many by the gate of violence; and ſince it is Gods pleaſure to diſpoſe me this way, I ſubmit my ſoul to him, with all comfort, and with all hope, that he hath made this my end, and this my concluſion, that though I be low in death, yet nevertheleſs this lowneſs ſhall raiſe me to the higheſt glory for ever.

Truly, I have not ſaid much in publick to the People, concerning the particular Actions that I conceive I have done by my Counſels in this Kingdom, I conceive they are well known, it were ſomthing of vanity (methinks) to take notice of them here: I'le rather die with them, with the comfort of them in my own boſom, & that I never intended in this Action, or any action that ever I did in my life, either malice, or bloudſhed, or prejudice to any creature that lives. For that which concerns my Religion, I made my Profeſſion before of it, how I was bred, and in what manner I was

bred.

bred, in a Family that was looked upon to be no little notorious in oppoſition to ſome liberties they have conceived then to be taken; and truly, there was ſome mark upon me, as if I had ſome taint of it, even throughout my whole waies that I have taken: every body knows what my Affections have been to many that have ſuffered, to many that have been in troubles in this Kingdom, I endeavoured to relieve them, I endeavoured to oblige them, I thought I was tied ſo by my Conſcience, I thought it by my Charity, and truly, very much by my Breeding; God hath now brought me to the laſt inſtant of my time, all that I can ſay, and all that I can adhere unto, is this, That as I am a great ſinner, ſo I have a great Saviour; that as he hath given me here a Fortune to come publickly in a ſhew of ſhame in the way of this ſuffering (truly I underſtand it not to be ſo) I underſtand it to be a Glory; a glory, when I conſider who hath gone before me, and a glory, when I conſider I had no end in it, but what I conceive to be the Service of God, the King, and the Kingdom, and therefore my heart is not charged much with any thing in that particular, ſince I conceive God will accept of the intention, whatſoever the

Action ſeems to be. I am going to die, and the Lord receive my Soul; *I* have no Reliance, but upon Chriſt: For my ſelf, *I* do acknowledge, that *I* am the unworthieſt of ſinners, my Life hath been a vanity, and a continued ſin, and God may juſtly bring me to this end, for the ſins *I* have committed againſt him, and were there nothing elſe but the iniquities that I have committed in the way of my Life, *I* look upon this as a great Juſtice of God, to bring me to this Suffering, and to bring me to this Puniſhment; and thoſe hands that have been moſt active in it, if any ſuch there hath been; *I* pray God forgive them; *I* pray God there may not be many ſuch Trophies of their Victories, but that this may be (as *I* ſaid before) the laſt ſhew, that this People ſhall ſee, of the Bloud of perſons of Condition, of Perſons of Honour: *I* might ſay ſomthing of the way of our Trial, which certainly hath been as extraordinary, as any thing *I* think hath ever been ſeen in this Kingdom; but becauſe that *I* would not ſeem as if *I* made ſome complaint, *I* will not ſo much as mention it, becauſe no body ſhall believe *I* repine at their Actions, that *I* repine at my Fortune; it is the will of God, it is the hand of God, under whom *I*

fall;

fall; *I* take it entirely from him, *I* ſubmit my ſelf to him, *I* ſhall deſire to roul my ſelf into the Arms of my bleſſed Saviour, and when *I* come to this * place, when *I* bow down my ſelf there, *I* hope God will raiſe me up; and when *I* bid farewel, as *I* muſt now to Hope and to Faith, that Love will abide; *I* know nothing to accompany the Soul out of this world, but Love; and *I* hope that Love will bring me to the fountain of glory in Heaven, through the Arms, Mediation, and the Mercy of my Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*, in whom *I* believe, O Lord help my Unbelief.

* *Pointing to the Block.*

Hodges. *The Lord make over unto you the Righteouſneſs of his own Son, it is that Treaſury that he hath beſtowed upon you; and the Lord ſhew you the light of his countenance, and fill you full with his Joy and Kindneſs. O my dear Lord, the Lord of Heaven and Earth be with you, and the Lord of Heaven & Earth bring you to that Safety.*

Holland. *I* ſhall make as much haſt as *I* can to come to that Glory, and the Lord of Heaven and Earth take my Soul; *I* look upon my ſelf entirely in him, and hope to find Mercy through him, *I* expect it, and through that Fountain that is opened for

ſin and for uncleanneſs, my ſoul muſt receive it; for did *I* reſt in any thing elſe, *I* have nothing but ſin and Corruption in me, *I* have nothing but that, which inſtead of being carried up into the Arms of God, and of Glory, *I* have nothing but may throw me down into Hell.

Bolton. *But my Lord, when you are cloathed with the Righteouſneſs of another, you will appear Glorious, though now ſinful in your ſelf; The Apoſtle ſaith,* I deſire not to be found in my own Righteouſneſs, *and when you are cloathed with another, the Lord will own you, and I ſhall ſay but thus much: Doubt not that ever God will deny Salvation to ſinners, that come to him, when the end of all his death and ſufferings was the Salvation of ſinners, whenas, I ſay, the whole end, and the whole Deſign, and the great work, that God had to do in the world, by the death of Chriſt, wherein he laid out all his Counſels, and infinite wiſdom, and goodneſs, beyond which, there was a* non ultra *in Gods thoughts, when this was the great deſign, and great end, the ſalvation of poor ſinners, that poor ſouls ſhould come over to him, and live; certainly, when ſinners come, he will not reject, he will not refuſe: And, my Lord, do but think of this, the greateſt work that ever*

was

was done in the world, was the bloud of Christ that was shed, never any thing like it: And this Blond of Christ that was shed, was shed for them that come, if not for them, for none, it was in vain else: You see the Devils they are out of capacity of good by it, the Angels they have no need of it, wicked men will not come, and there are but few that come over, but a few that come over, and should he deny them, there were no end nor fruit of the Blond and Sufferings of the Lord Jesus: and had your Lordship been with Christ in that bloudy Agony, when he was in that bloudy sweat, sweating drops of Blond, if you had asked him, Lord, what art thou now a doing, art thou not now reconciling an angry God and me together, art thou not pacifying the wrath of God? art thou not interposing thy self between the Justice of God and my soul? Would he not have said, Yea? and surely then he mill not deny it now. My Lord, his Passions are over, his Compassions still remain, and the larger and greater, because he is gone up into an higher place, that he may throw down more abundance of his mercy and grace upon you, and, my Lord, think of that infinite love, that abundance of riches in Christ: I am lost, I am empty, I have nothing, I am poor, I am sinful; be it so, as bad as God will make me, and as vile as I possibly

can conceive my ſelf, I am willing to be: but when I have ſaid all, the more I advance that Riches, and honour that Grace of God. And why ſhould I doubt, when by this, he puts me into a capacity, into a diſpoſition for him to ſhew me Mercy, that by this I may the better advance the riches of his Grace, and ſay, grace, grace, to the Lord *to all Eternity, that God ſhould own ſuch a Creature that deſerves nothing; and the leſs I deſerve, the more conſpicuous is his Grace: And this is certain, the riches of his Grace he throweth amongſt men, that the Glory of his Grace might be given to himſelf; if we can give him but the Glory of his Grace, we ſhall never doubt to partake of the riches of it; and that Fulneſs, My* Lord, *that fulneſs be your Comfort, that fulneſs of Mercy, that fulneſs of love, that fulneſs of righteouſneſs and power be now your riches, and your only ſtay, and the* Lord *interpoſe himſelf between God and you, as your Faith hath endeavoured to interpoſe him between God and your ſoul; ſo I doubt not there he ſtands (my* Lord) *to plead for you, and when you are not able to do any thing your ſelf, yet lie down at the feet of him that is a merciful Saviour, and knows what you would deſire, and wait upon him while you live, truſt in him when you die, there is riches enough, and mercy enough, if he*

open

open not, yet die at his door, ſay there I'le die, there is Mercy enough.

Holland. And here is the place where I lie down before him, from whence I hope he will raiſe me to an eternal glory through my Saviour, upon whom I relie, from whom only I can expect Mercy: into his Arms I commend my Spirit, into his bleeding Arms, that when I leave this bleeding body, that muſt lie upon this place, he will receive that Soul that ariſeth out of it, and receive it into his eternal mercy, through the Merits, through the worthineſs, through the Mediation of Chriſt, that hath purchaſed it with his own moſt precious Bloud.

Bolton. *My Lord, though you conclude here, I hope you begin above, and though you put an end here, I hope there will never be an end of the Mercy and goodneſs of God, and if this be the Morning of Eternity, if this be the riſe of Glory, if God pleaſeth to throw you down here, to raiſe you up for ever, ſay, Welcome Lord, welcome that death that ſhall make way for life, and welcom any condition that ſhall throw me down here, to bring me into the poſſeſſion of Jeſus Chriſt.*

Hodges. *My Lord, if you have made a*

Deed

Deed of Gift of your ſelf to Jeſus Chriſt, to be found only in him, I am confident you ſhall ſtand at the day of Chriſt, my dear Lord, we ſhall meet in happineſs.

Holland. Chriſt Jeſus receive my ſoul, my ſoul hungers & thirſts after him, clouds are gathering, and I truſt in God through all my heavineſs, and I hope through all impediments, he will ſettle my Intereſt in him, and throw off all the claim that Satan can make unto it, and that he will carry my ſoul in deſpight of all the calumnies, and all that the Devil, and Satan can invent, will carry it into eternal mercy, there to receive the bleſſedneſs of his Preſence to all Eternity.

Hodges. *My Lord, it was his own by creation, it is his own now by Redemption and purchaſe; and it is likewiſe his own by reſignation: O my Lord, look therefore up to the Lamb of God, that ſits at the right hand of God, to take away the ſins of the world, O that Lamb of God!*

Holland. That Lamb of God, into his hands I commit my ſoul: And that Lamb of God that ſits upon the Throne to judge thoſe 24 that fall down before him, I hope he will be pleaſed to look downward, and judge

judge me with mercy that fall down before him, and that adore him, that only truſts upon his Mercy, for his compaſſion; and that as he hath purchaſed me, he would lay his claim unto me now, and receive me.

Bolton. *My Lord, think of this,* there is no condemnation to them who are in Chriſt; who is it that can condemn? it is Chriſt that juſtifies: *and therefore look now upon this, (My Lord,) upon this Chriſt, upon this Chriſt that juſtifies: Hell, Death, Sin, Satan; nothing ſhall be able to condemn,* it is Chriſt that juſtifies you.

Holland. Indeed if Chriſt juſtifie, no body can condemn, and I truſt in God, in his juſtification, though there is a confuſion here without us, and though there are wonders and ſtaring that now diſquiet, yet I truſt that I ſhall be carried into that mercy, that God will receive my Soul.

Bolton. *I doubt not my Lord, but as you are a Spectacle of Pitty here, ſo you are an Object of Gods mercy above.*

Holland. Then the Earl of *Holland* looking over among the People, pointing to a Souldier, ſaid, This honeſt man took me a Priſoner, you little thought I ſhould have been brought to this, when I delivered my ſelf

ſelf to you upon conditions: and eſpying Captain *Watſon* on horſe-back, putting off his hat, ſaid to him, God be with you Sir, God reward you Sir.

Bolton. *My Lord, throw your ſelf into the arms of mercy, and ſay, there I will Anchor, and there I will die, he is a Saviour for us in all conditions, whither ſhould we go? he hath the words of eternal life: and upon him do you reſt, wait while you live, and even truſt in Death.*

Holland. Here muſt now be my Anchor, a great ſtorm makes me find my Anchor; and but in ſtorms no body truſts to his Anchor; and therefore I muſt truſt upon my Anchor (*Upon that God*, ſaid Mr. *Bolton*, *Upon whoms your Anchor truſts*) yea, God I hope, will Anchor my Soul faſt upon Chriſt Jeſus: and if I die not with that clearneſſe and heir ineſſe that you ſpeak of, truly, I will truſt in God, though he kill me, I will relie upon him, and in the Mercy of my Saviour.

Bolton. *There is mercy enough, my Lord, and to ſpare, you ſhall not need to doubt; they ſhall never go begging to another door (my Lord) that come to him. Then the Earl of* Holland *ſpeaking to Mr.* Hodges, *ſaid, I pray God reward you for all your kindneſs, and*

pray

pray as you have done, instruct my Family, that they may serve God with faithfulneſs and holineſs, with more diligence, than truly I have been careful to preſſe them unto: you have the charge of the ſame place, you may do much for them, and I recommend them to your kindneſſe, and the goodneſſe of your Conſcience.

Dr. Sibbald *ſtanding upon the Scaffold, in his paſſage to Col.* Beecher *expreſſed himſelf thus to his Lordſhip.*

Dr. Sibbald. *The Lord lift up the light of his Countenance upon you, and you ſhall be ſafe.*

H lland. Then the Earl of *Holland* embraced Lieutenant Col. *Beecher*, and took his leave of him: After which he came to Mr. *Bolton*, and having embraced him, and returned him many thanks for his great pains and affections to his Soul, deſiring God to reward him, and return his love into his boſom. Mr. *Bolton* ſaid to him, The Lord God ſupport you, and be ſeen in this great extremity; the Lord reveal and diſcover himſelf to you; and make your death the paſſage unto eternal life ——

Then the Earl of *Holland* turning to the Executioner, ſaid, here, my friend, let my Cloathes

Cloathes and my Body alone, there is Ten pounds for thee, that is better than my Cloathes, I am ſure of it.

Executioner. *Will your Lordſhip pleaſe to give me a Sign when I ſhall ſtrike? And then his Lordſhip, ſaid you have room enough here, have you not? and the Executioner ſaid, Yes.*

Bolton. *The Lord be your ſtrength, there is riches in him; The Lord of Heaven impart himſelf to you, he is able to ſave to the uttermoſt: We cannot fall ſo low as to fall below the everlaſting Arms of God; and therefore the Lord be a ſupport and ſtay to you in your low condition, that he will be pleaſed to make this an advantage to that life and glory that will make amends for all.*

Holland. Then the Earl of *Holland* turning to the Executioner, ſaid, Friend, do you hear me, if you take up my head, do not take off my Cap. Then turning to his Servants, he ſaid to one, Fare you well, thou art an honeſt fellow; and to another, God be with thee, thou art an honeſt man: and then ſaid, Stay, I will kneel down, and ask God forgiveneſs; and then prayed for a pretty ſpace, with ſeeming earneſtneſſe.

Bolton.

Bolton. *The Lord grant you may find life in death.*

Holland. Which is the way of lying? (which they ſhewed him,) and then going to the front of the Scaffold, he ſaid to the People, God bleſſe you all, and God deliver you from any ſuch accident as may bring you to any ſuch death as is violent, either by War, or by theſe accidents, but that there may be Peace among you, and you may find that theſe accidents that have happened to us, may be the laſt that may happen in this Kingdom; it is that I deſire, it is that I beg of God, next the ſaving of my Soul: I pray God give all happineſs to this Kingdom, to this People, and this Nation: and then turning to the Executioner, ſaid, How muſt I lie? I know not.

Executioner. *Lie down flat upon your belly: and then having laid himſelf down, he ſaid, muſt I lye cloſer?*

Execut. *Yes, and backwarder.*

Holland. I will tell you when you ſhall ſtrike;

ſtrike; and then as he lay, ſeemed to pray with much affection for a ſhort ſpace, and then lifting up his head, ſaid, where is the man? and ſeeing the Executioner by him, he ſaid, ſtay while I give the ſign; and preſently after ſtretching out his hand, and the Executioner being not fully ready, he ſaid, now, now, and juſt as the words were coming out of his mouth, the Executioner at one blow ſevered his head from his body.

The

The Execution of Mr. *Beaumont*, a Minister at *Pontfract*, 15 *Feb.* 1648. and the like done afterwards to Major *Morris*, and Coronet *Michael Blackburn*, at *York*, 23. *August*, 1649.

FOR the everlasting memory, and the obliging Ruines of this Town and Castle, together with the memory of these Persons, we must repeat from the beginning, and tell the world how far, and how much beyond all other Fortresses and places, this Garrison continued for the King; and was valiantly defended, prudently maintained, couragiously and bravely rescued and freed; and in conclusion, made its own glorious Sepulcher and Monument.

This place, infamous formerly for the death of King *Richard* the second, for the Execution of *Richard Woodville* Earl of *Rivers*, and the rest of those unhappy relations to the Wife of *Edward* the 4th. hath now *redeemed* it self by the *price* current of Loyal Blood, and is consecrated in its demolitions and ruines to the veneration of an Altar, whereon so many ac-

ceptable ſacrifices to Heaven have been laid and offered.

Not to ſummon the Genius of that place to an account, we will derive the cruelty of thoſe ſanguinary perpetrations upon the lives of theſe men from aſtrange and hidden Notions. Nothing but moſt unexpiable malice contracted from the hardned guilt of rebellion, could have violenced the inſolent Victor into ſo much inhumanity and baſeneſs, nay, barbarous and deteſtable cruelty; but ſome fierce and moſt compulſive Engines of mercileſs Tyranny and Ambition, who in this noble and moſt loyal Gariſon reared, and diſplayed their compleat Conqueſt.

In the defence hereof many noble perſons were concerned at ſeveral times, as the advantages and difficulties of that place ſucceſſively required; many brave exploits and attempts were often performed to the honour of themſelves, and the terrour of their Enemies, partic ularly in that memorable buſineſs of Col. *Rainsborough*, who quartering ten miles from the Leager (*Pontefract* being then beſieged by Sir *Edward Rhodes*, and other County Forces:) and being ordered to command in chief, and finiſh that piece of ſervice

vice, was by a resolute small party of Horse, who sallied from thence in spight of the Besiegers, killed in his Inne, having first refused quarter, and fell as an expiatory victime to the slaughter, and murder of Sir *Charles Lucas*, and Sir *George Lisle*, shot to death a little while before at *Colchester*.

Among the rest of such gallant Spirits related to that Garison this Mr. *Beaumont*, a Minister of the Orthodox Protestant Religion, was much noted for his loyal, resolute and constant adherence, and maintenance of the Royal Cause. This his loyaltie was employed as well without as within that Garison; being by the venerable respect to his Order (not so rudely profaned then in those parts of the Nation) more freely permitted, and unsuspectedly suffered to entertain, and harbour and transact with all manner of men according to the unbounded and unlimited use of his Function: but neither his heart, nor his house were open to any but faithfull Subjects, with such, of whom upon the surprizal of *Pontefract* the third of *July* 1648. by Major *Morris* & others, this Gentleman held correspondency.

All this time every good man put to

his helping hand to the restoring of the King; and this being an Important Service, making the Royal Interest considerable in the North, much care was taken by the well-affected people adjacent thereto for a supply of that place with all manner of provision of Arms and sustenance.

The care whereof Mr. *Beaumont* resolutely took upon himself, and before any formal siege, the Parliament-Forces being otherwise employed, had several recourses thereto, maintained a strict intelligence, was often out upon Parties with them, and had regulated and stated the Contribution from the places thereabouts, which was either freely paid, or as courageously forced, till after the defeat of Duke *Hamilton* at *Preston* in *Lancashire*, they were wholly surrounded, and block'd up.

This distress of his Friends further obliged him to their assistance, so far was the danger from deterring of him, therfore he adventured in his own person to go and see in what condition they were, and to take a view of the likeliest means of relief, and give an account of the Enemies strength, and advantages, or weakness,

neſs, and moſt attemptible place of their Lines and entrenchment.

But in this deſign he was ſurprized and taken, and immediately brought before a Council of War, who enraged at the death of *Rainsborough*, and inſolenced by their late many Victories, & Fleſh'd with the carnage and blood of ſo many preceding Sacrifices, eſpecially that of the King's, they made no bones of him, but condemned him to the Gibbet with ſuch fury and haſt, that they would ſcarce afford him time to recommend himſelf from their mercileſs Bar to the merciful and juſt Tribunal of Heaven, which would ere long judge righteouſly in his cauſe between his Enemies and himſelf.

He was not long in preparation for his diſſolution, having as well learned as taught the neceſſity of Death; improved to him into an eaſie ſuffering, & undergoing of it by the glory of his cauſe, ſo that he quietly ſubmitted to their Sentence; and with Chriſtian reſolution, owning his actions in order to his duty, laid down his life the day and year aforeſaid, and will therefore deſervedly among the reſt of his glorious Company be had in precious and everlaſting remembrance.

Not long afterwards followed the rendition of *Pontefract*-Caſtle, ſurprized as aforeſaid by Col. *Morris*; they had ſtood it out to extremity, there being no place in *England* for the King beſides, & therefore were forced to accept of very hard Conditions: which were, that ſix of the gariſon, whom they ſhould chuſe, ſhould be left at diſcretion. The reaſon of this calling out this Number was a reſolution to Sacrifice them to the ghoſt of the ſaid *Rainsborough*, being aſſured, that thoſe that performed that exploit were then in the Caſtle, & might be diſcovered upon view.

Among thoſe, or rather for thoſe this Gentleman was taken, being the Governor of the place, and with Cornet *Michael Blackbourn*, and the others brought to the City of *York*, and committed to that Goal until the Summer-Aſſizes held there by Baron *Thorp* for that County, when an Indictment of Treaſon was brought againſt them for levying War againſt the Parliament; & therupon found guilty by a pack'd Jury, and after Sentence of being hanged, drawn, and quartered, they were executed the day and year aforeſaid, the rigour of diſmembring them being only abated. At their death they ſpake as followeth.

The

The Speech of Col. John Morris, *Governour of* Pontefract-*Caſtle, at the place of his Execution at* York, Auguſt 23. 1649.

WHen he was brought out of priſon, looking upon the Sledge that was there ſet for him, lifting up his eyes to Heaven, knocking upon his breaſt, he ſaid, I am as willing to go to my death, as to put off my doublet to go to bed; I deſpiſe the ſhame as well as the Croſs; I know I am going to a joyful place: with many like expreſſions,

When the Poſt met him about St. *James* Church, that was ſent to the Parliament to mediate for a reprieve; and told him he could not prevail in it, he ſaid, *Sir*, I pray God reward you for your pains, I hope, and am well aſſured to finde a better pardon then any they can give; my hope is not in man, but in the living God:

At the place of Execution he made this profeſſion of his faith, his breeding, his cauſe he had fought in.

Gentlemen, Firſt I was bred up in the true Proteſtant Religion, having my edu-

cation and breeding from that honorable Houſe my dear Lord & Maſter *Strafford*, which place I dare boldly ſay, was as well governed and ruled as ever any yet was before it; I much doubt, better then any will be after it, unleſs it pleaſe God to put a period to theſe diſtracted times: this Faith and Religion, I ſay, I have been bred in, and I thank God, I have hitherto lived in, without the leaſt wavering, and now I am reſolved by Gods aſſiſtance to dy in.

Theſe pains are nothing, if compared to thoſe dolors and pains, which *Jeſus Chriſt* our Saviour hath ſuffered for us; when in a bloody-Sweat he endured the Wrath of God, the pain of Hell, and the curſed and ſhameful death which was due to our ſins; therefore I praiſe the Lord that I am not plagued with far more grievous puniſhment, that the like hath befallen others, who undoubtedly are moſt glorious and bleſſed Saints with Chriſt in Heaven. It is the Lords affliction, and who will not take any affliction in good part when it comes from the hand of God? And what? ſhall we receive good from the hands of God, and not receive evil? And though I deſire, as I am carnal, that this Cup may depart from me, yet not my

my will, but thy will be done. Death brings unto the godly an end of sinning, and of all miseries due unto sin: so that after death there shall be no more sorrow, nor cry, nor pain, for *God shall wipe away all tears from our eyes*; by Death our souls shall be delivered from thraldom; and this *corruptible body shall put on incorruption, and this mortal immortality.*

Therefore blessed are they that are delivered out of so vile a world, and freed from such a body of bondage and corruption; the soul shall enjoy immediate Communion with God in everlasting bliss and glory; it takes us from the miseries of this world, and society of sinners, to the City of the living God, the celestial *Jerusalem.*

I bless God I am thought worthy to suffer for his Name, and for so good a cause, and if I had a thousand lives, I would willingly lay them down for the cause of my King, the Lords *Anointed*; the Scripture commands us to fear God and honour the King, to be subject to every Ordinance of man for the Lords sake; whether to the King as supreme, or to to those that are in authority under him. I have been always faithful to my Trust: and, though I

have been moſt baſely accuſed for betraying *Leverpool*; yet I take God to witneſs, it is a moſt falſe aſperſion, for I was then ſick in my bed, and knew not of the delivering of it, till the Officers and Souldiers had done it without my conſent, and then I was carried priſoner to Sir *John Meldrum*; afterwards I came down into the Country, and ſeeing I could not live quietly at home, I was perſwaded by Colonel *Forbes*, Colonel *Overton*, Lieut-Colonel *Fairfax*, whom I took for my good friends, to march in their Troops: which I did, but with intention ſtill to do my King the beſt ſervice when occaſion was, and ſo I did; and I pray God to turn the hearts of all the Souldiers to their lawful Sovereign, that this Land may enjoy Peace, which till then it will never do: and though thou kill me, yet will I put my truſt in thee; wherefore I truſt in God he will not fail me nor forſake me. Then he took his Bible and read divers Pſalms fit for his own occaſion and conſolation, and then put up divers prayers, ſome publiquely, and ſome privately; the publique was this which follows:

His

His Prayer.

WElcome bleſſed hour, the period of my Pilgrimage, the term of my Bondage, the end of my cares, the cloſe of my ſins, the bound of my travels, the Goal of my race, and the haven of my hopes; I have fought a long fight in much weakneſs; I have finiſhed my courſe, though in great faintneſs; and the Crown of my joy is, that through the ſtrength of thy grace, I have both kept the true faith, and have fought for my King, the Lord's Anointed's cauſe without any wavering; for which, and in which I die; I do willingly reſign my fleſh, I deſpiſe the World, and I defie the Devil, who hath no part nor ſhare in me. And now what is my hope? my hope Lord Jeſu is even in thee: for I know that thou my Redeemer liveſt, and that thou wilt immediately receive my ſoul, and raiſe up my body alſo at the laſt day, and I ſhall ſee thee in my fleſh with theſe eyes, and none other. And now, O Lord, let thy Spirit of comfort help mine infirmities, and make ſupplication for me with ſighs, and groans that cannot be expreſſed; I ſubmit my ſelf wholly to thy will; I commit my ſoul

to

to thee as my faithful Redeemer, who haſt bought it with thy moſt precious blood. I confeſs to all the world, I know no name under heaven by which I may be ſaved, but thine my Jeſu, my Saviour; I renounce all confidence in any merits ſave thine; I thankfully acknowledge all thy bleſſings; I unfeignedly bewail all my ſins: I ſtedfaſtly believe all thy promiſes: I heartily forgive all my Enemies: I willingly leave all my Friends; I utterly loath all earthly comforts, and I entirely long for thy coming. Come Lord Jeſus, come quickly; Lord Jeſus receive my Spirit.

The private were to himſelf, his Hat being before his eyes. After this, he put up divers ſhort Ejaculations: As, *I know my Redeemer liveth; Father into thy hands I commend my ſpirit, for thou haſt redeemed it; O God, thou God of truth; Lord Jeſu receive my ſpirit, and many of the like: and ſo he yielded to Death.*

The

The Speech of Coronet *Michael Blackbourn*, immediately before his death, *August* 23. 1649.

It is expected I should say something; and indeed it is my desire to say something, and but a little.

I Am not a Gentleman by birth, but my Parents are of an honest quality and condition. I was brought up in the Protestant Religion, and in that Religion I have lived, and in that I now dy. I have some five or six years since engaged in this War, wherein I had no other end or intention but to do my King true and faithful service, according to my duty and the dictate of my Conscience. I have not done so much service as I desired, but I have been always faithful to him, and wish I could have done him more: and for his Son the King that now is, I wonder any man of this Kingdom should have the baldness or impudence to lift up his hand against him, to keep him from his Crown whereof he is Heir apparent, and hath as good right and title to it by his Birth-right, as any man living hath of his Inheritance or Possession: I pray God bless him, forgive all my Enemies, and Lord Jesus receive my Spirit.

D.

Dr. Levens *executed at the* Old Exchange, London, *the* 18. *of* July 1650.

THis learned Gentleman was deſcended of an antient family in *Oxfordſhire*, whoſe chief ſeat and reſidence was near *Botley*, within a mile of the Univerſitie. His education was truly generous, his profeſſion the Civil Law, wherein he was graduated a Doctor, and in which he was excellently known before theſe Wars.

But when theſe uncivil broils began, he laid aſide the practice of that Law, which was not onely ſilenced, by the depreſſion, and annihilation of the Hierarchy, in whoſe Courts it is moſt generally uſed, but alſo deſpair'd of for any future reſuſcitation during the Troubles; and he took himſelf to the ſervice of his Sovereign, then moſt *unlawfully* and uncivilly aſſaulted and affronted by the Members at *Weſtminſter*.

He continued moſt part of the War in the Garriſon at *Oxford*, and his own adjacent dwelling, till ſuch time as the ſurrender of the ſaid City into the hands of

of the Parliament, where he had the ſame terms, and was concluded in the Articles of that Capitulation; which being forced to accept, and lay down his arms, he again reſumed his wonted ſtudies.

From theſe he was again avocated by thoſe monſtrous and horrid actions of thoſe times, which indulged not any man his private concerns in the danger and trouble of the publick, nor could he forſake, or deſert his firſt cauſe with its fortune, and ſerve the times by a baſe and abject indifferency.

He had to the infinite diſtraction of his mind, and trouble of his ſoul, ſeen the barbarous Regicide perpetrated upon the life of his Sovereign; the Royal Family renounced and baniſhed, all the friends thereof in moſt eminent danger to be deſtroyed, and undone for adhehering to them, and the Laws in the late War, the Church and State renverſed, and a ſad confuſion and ruine of the Kingdom (unleſs obviated by Providence, and means therewith uſed) to be impendent and unavoidable.

Upon theſe and the like conſiderations, this Gentleman, very conſiderable in his

his numerous acquaintance, prudence and integrity, became engaged for the Son our preſent Sovereign, as before for his Royal Father; ſeveral conſultations, and private meetings were held by him, and others, in order to this ſervice, to which purpoſe he alſo received Commiſſions from the King, then in *France*, for ſeveral Officers of theſe Forces deſigned to be raiſed, and other Inſtructions, as the affair proceeded.

The Common-wealth, as it was then called, was in its infancy, which made its politick Guardians very cautious, and jealous of attempts upon it; the Kings intereſt was no whit the leſs formidable, becauſe his perſon was beyond the Sea, the juſt indignation, and noble anger of his Subjects being ready to boil over upon any ſudden motion; they had alſo ſo oppreſſed the generality of the people with grievous & inſupportable Taxes, that they might well fear and ſuſpect ſome more forcible and proſperous enterpriſe againſt them, by how much their impieties, and high provocations had further incenſed both heaven and earth.

Therefore they employed their Emiſſaries and Spies to give them intelligence,

if any such designs were on foot, and so to countermine all plots against them. Their sagacious industry in this soon answered their expectation: for these flies prying up and down, engaging in all companies, assimulating themselves to their complexion, opinion, and study, light at last upon some glimpses of this business, which they followed so close, that at last they made a perfect and full discovery of the main businesse, and that this Doctor *Levens* was the chief Agitator and manager thereof, in whose breast the *Cabal* was principally lodged and entrusted, and upon whose apprehension they might be informed and satisfied in every circumstance.

An Order was thereupon made by the Council of State, and a Warrant signed by *Bradshaw* the President to seize, and bring him before them, and to search his Chamber, and break up his Trunks for papers, he then being at *London*, the place most expedient for the design, which accordingly was done, a file or two of Musketeers guarding, and securing the house, where the said Papers were, among which there were blank Commissions signed by the King to the purport aforesaid,

ſaid, were found with him, and carried to the Council, who thereupon ordered him to be proceeded againſt as a ſpie, and referred him to a Council of War.

Accordingly he was ſoon afterwards tried by a Court Martial, where he did not excuſe himſelf, or extenuate his fault, but very modeſtly & handſomly acknowledged their allegations againſt him, and the juſtice of his cauſe, of which he told them he was no way aſhamed, but, if it muſt be ſo, would willingly lay down his life in the owning of it. He told them moreover, that he was bound indiſpenſably by the Laws of God and this Kingdom, to do what he did, and ſo referred himſelf to them. They very earneſtly preſſed him to reveal the other parties engaged with him, and gave him ſome fallacious hopes of life, if he would freely declare them, but thoſe offers prevailed not with him, being reſolved to ſuffer and take all upon himſelf, rather then to ruine others, whom they could not faſten upon without his diſcovery.

So the Court proceeded to Sentence, which was, that he ſhould be hanged over againſt the *Exchange* in *Cornhill*, in

in *Exchange* time, which after ſome little preparation was executed, he being brought in a Coach from the *Mews*, with the Executioner vizarded with him, and a Troop of Horſe to guard him to the ſaid place, where the Sheriffs received him into their charge. After he alighted, and ſome words paſſed between them concerning the ſaid diſcovery, he told them they ſhould not expect it, and deſired them to forbear any further trouble to that purpoſe, and ſo aſcended that ladder, which reached unto heaven, wherein he prayed very fervently for the King, and the Church, and commended his ſoul into the hands of the Redeemer, and ſo concluded his laſt breath, which at the falling of his body mounted his ſoul to heaven, in whoſe bliſsful manſions he nows ſings *Hallelujah* for ever.

Colonel

Colonel *Euſebius Andrews* beheaded on Tower-hill, *Auguſt* 22. 1650.

THis Gentleman, a moſt ſincere and religious Proteſtant, being by profeſſion a Counſellour of *Grays-Inn*, and who during the War had followed the Kings fortune out of Conſcience of his obedience, and duty, was moſt wickedly trapand by the ſaid Council of State and their Officers to his lamentable death; a Narative of the whole take as followeth.

On Monday the 24 of *March*, 1649. Collonel *Andrews* was taken priſoner at *Graves-end* by Major *Parker*, and by a Troop of Horſe that night conveighed to the *George* in *Kings*-ſtreet *Weſtminſter*. The next day he was convented before the Preſident *Bradſhaw*, Sir *Henry Mildmay*, and *Thomas Scot*; three members of the ſaid Council delegated by them for the taking of the Examination of him, and of Sir *Henry Chichley*, Doctor *Henry Edwards*, and Mr. *Clark*, caſually found in the ſame Inne with Mr. *Andrews*.

Theſe Gentlemen examined him ſo punctually to every action and circumſtance, that had paſſed on his part ſince he took

took up Armes, and especially since the render of *Worcester*, and his return from thence to *London*, and also concerning his several Lodgings, Names, Acquaintances, Removes, Abodes in the Country, correspondencies by Letters, and interests in places, and persons, as if they had kept a Diary for him. Which considered, and that Sir *John Gell* Baronet, Major *Bernard*, Captain *Smith*, Captain *Benson*, and Capt. *Ashley* (with whom he had the last and most questionable correspondency) were all in custody; he found himself to be betrayed, but could not at present guesse by whom: but well saw, that he had better be fair in his Confession, then to deny what he saw by the perfectness of his Examiners would be proved against him by the discovery of those formerly secured, and examined before his coming up, and so resolved to bear the worst, and not so much to shame himself, or the matter, as to deny things evident, or easily proveable, but rather to cast himself upon God; and come off as well as he could with a truth in his mouth.

In his Answers he would have been circumstantial, but was kept close to the Question. At his departure he desired he might

might ſet down his own Narrative according to his own ſenſe, which was granted him to prepare, and to ſend, or bring them as there was opportunity. And, having totally, and as much as in him lay excuſed his fellow-priſoners as to any thing related to his Delinquency, he was with them committed to the Gate-houſe.

Wedneſday following he was re-convented and re-examined; and on Friday again convented, and delivered in his Narrative to the Lord Preſident, and by him without further words returned. On Saturday he was re-called, and then as at all times before uſed and treated with civility, being only much preſſed to diſcover ſome great Perſons his ſuppoſed Confederates; their aym being, as he ſuppoſed, at Sir *Guy Palms*, Sir *John Curſon*, and Sir *Thomas Whitmore*, &c. But it was a great bleſſing in his unhappineſs, that it was not cumulative, nor fatal to any of his friends and familiars, who yet knew nothing of the reaſon of his impriſonment, more then by common fame.

On Sunday next he was called out of his bed, and by two Meſſengers, his keeper, and his man, brought into a Boat at *Kings*-bridge *Weſtminſter*, and thence carried

ried to the Tower, The Warrant which was read at the Lieutenants houſe, imported, That he was committed cloſe priſoner for high Treaſon, in endeavouring to ſubvert the preſent Government, to be kept till delivered by Law.

He was deſigned for a Priſon-lodging by Col. *Weſt* the Lieutenant; but upon notice of his quality he was put into the cuſtody of Mr. *Slaidon*, one of the Wardets in his houſe, equally convenient with the beſt. At his firſt coming to the Tower he had but two ſhillings in his Purſe, and ſuppoſing he ſhould be provided for at the States-charges, he ſent to the Lieutenant to know what he would order for him; who returned, that if he had money he might have what he would, but at his proviſion nothing.

His keeper was upon his delivery to his charge commanded to keep him ſafe, and if he eſcap'd threatned to be hanged, and a Sentinel ſet immediately at his door; and that day two Gentlewomen, coming to ſee him, were all impriſoned in the Round-houſe, and next day carried to the Council of State, and ſtrictly examined.

His Waterman that week brought him ſome

ſome money, for which, and ſome affectionate words ſpoken of him, he was brought before the Preſident, examined, rebuked, and diſmiſſed, and a Centinel ſet at Mr. *Andrew's* window, that he might not ſpeak to any without.

His Caſe was this:

His Engagement for his late Majeſty began in 1642. and continued until the ſurrender of *Worceſter* 1645. He compounded not for his Delinquency, not having a conſiderable, and not willing to own an inconſiderable Eſtate. He took neither Proteſtation, Solemn League and Covenant, Negative Oath, nor ſubſcribed Engagement.

At his return to *London* to a private practice in his Calling for his neceſſary ſupport; *John Bernard*, ſometimes a Major under him, by reaſon of his good parts, and ſober demeanor, being in his good opinion frequently viſited him, and imparted to him ſuch Occurrences, as he met abroad in diſcourſe, and did intimate the diſcontents of the Levellers and Agitators, and the proceedings of a certain Committee of Officers, to which he was Clerk,

Clerk, upon a printed charge againſt ſome of the Parliament for oppreſſion, *&c.* By ſuch diſcoveries he at laſt obtruded on the Colonel the acquaintance of one Capt. *Helmes*, who ſoon after brought with him one *Benſon*, who pretended to have ſerved under Sir *John Gell*, who frequently produced Letters, tranſcripts of Letters (with the copying, whereof he pretended to be intruſted by Mr. *Ruſhworth*) which appeared to purport matters of State, to be delivered to Mr. *Buſhel* to be ſent beyond-Sea.

Theſe two inſinuated what intereſt they had in the Reformadoes, and the advantage would be done by them for the Royal Party, and magnified Sir *John Gells* intereſt in his Country; and his regret and reluctancie for what he had done for the Parliament. *Barnard* then propounded that a deſign formerly in the War laid by him for the taking of the Iſle of *Ely*, might by the ſaid aſſiſtance, and Sir *John's* aid be revived and executed, but this project failed.

In *December* 1649. *Helmes* brought the Col. inſtructions to draw up a Petition for Sir *John Gell* for his Arreares: this procured a meeting, where Sir *John*

took notice of his ill requital for his Services, and deſired to be repreſented to his new Majeſty as his Loyal Subject for the future, and no more paſſed.

There coming out ſoon after an Act, commanding Cavaliers to depart the City of *London*, being in treaty about tranſplanting himſelf into Sir *Edward Plowdens* Plantation in New-*Album*; He was again viſited by Major *Barnard* and *Benſon*, who gave him notice of a conſiderable deſign laid, ond friends and mony to back it; and that he ſhould have 200 pound, and power to draw more by bills of Exchange, if I would go over and promote the ſaid deſign with the Prince, and then in general terms acquainted him that it was an eaſie matter, the Cavaliers going out of Town, by correſpondence in all Counties, to ſurprize uhe Horſe of the Army in their ſeveral Quarters; the Col. anſwer was, that if the mony were ready, he would entertain the motion.

Next day after they came again, and told him that the Gentlemen of *Kent*, *Buckingham* and *Dorſet*, would preſently be near the Town, and would joyn in an Engagement, and raiſe mony; that Sir

John

John Gell would engage likewiſe, and might eaſily bring in his Friends Sir *Andrew Knevela*, Sir *Guy Palmes*, Mr. *Fieqherbert*, &c. and therefore deſired the Colonel to draw an Engagement (which he did in a looſe Paper, according to the ſenſe they inſtructed him) and to move Sir *John Gell* in the buſineſs, but preſſed not the Coll. then to joyn in the ſame.

Accordingly he ſpoke with Sir *John*, who refuſed to joyn, or meddle in the deſign, not daring to truſt *Benſon*, but renewed his deſire to the Col. if he went over to poſſeſs the King with a good opinion of him. This anſwer did not altogether unſatisfie *Barnards*, who appointed the ſame few days after a meeting at the *Three-crane-Tavern* in the *Savoy*, for a meeting where ſhould be preſent the Gentlemen of the aforeſaid Counties, but they met not, only *Barnard* and *Benſon*, and one Capt. *Aſhley*. *Barnard* produced Letters that the Kentiſh Gentlemen were come to *Rocheſter*, and would come, but within 12 miles of *London*, that night he durſt go no further that day for fear of Col. *Blunt*; and that they hid the mony, and had ſent for him with a Guide to bring him to them, ſo he departed to take

Horſe, while the other two preſſed him again to get Sir *John Gell* to ſeal an Engagement which *Benſon* had engroſſed; which he refuſed, and told them, he was able to ſatisfie any body of Sir *John Gell's* reality, though not actually engaged. That ſame night comes a Meſſenger unknown to him from *Barnard*, highly blaming the Col. and Sir *John Gell* of backwardneſs in with-holding their hands from the Engagement, and that thereupon his Kentiſh friends would proceed no further; as this *Smith* the Meſſenger took upon him to be informed from them; but the Col. inſiſting, that Sir *John* was not to be urged further. This *Smith*, and *Aſhley* departed, and promiſed to pay the mony the next night at the *Pals-graves-head*.

But failing of their promiſe, and the next day the Colonel according to the Act being to depart the Town. *Aſhley* delivered him that night a Letter from *Barnard*, preſſing him to ſubſcribe the Engagement which *Benſon* engroſſed, and that done he would go the next day with him to *Graves-end*, where the Kentiſh Gentlemen ſhould not fail to meet him.

Being come to *Graves-end* alone, *Barnard*

nard, as *Benſon* pretended being at *Tartenham* Court with the *Buckinghamſhire* Gentlemen, there were none of the *Kentiſh* Gentlemen come thither: but two days after comes *Barnard* and *Smith* with a Letter from *Benſon*, intimating, that if Sir *John Gell* would not engage with thoſe whoſe names were ſubſcribed, they would go over to the King and ſpoil his Reputation, and the Colonels both there; and that he had Letters from Sir *John* to produce which ſhould make him repent his refuſal, and therefore deſired Col. *Andrews* to write to Sir *John Gell*, which he did, laying the Caſe before him; ſo they parted from the Colonel agreeing, if they got Sir *John's* Seal to come down to *Graveſend*, and ſo to *Rocheſter* for the mony, and performance of the Confederacy, or elſe to let the buſineſſe fall, and return the Col. his Seal and Engagement. And while the poor betrayed Gentleman was in this ſuſpenſe, he was ſeized at his Inn in *Graveſend* by a party of Horſe, and brought priſoner to *London*. This Narrative of his own was poſtilled with this Addreſs to the three that examined him.

My Lords,

IN *this Narrative, you will ſee a believing Nature wrought upon by treacherous men: ſuch, who cannot be true to any, while falſe to Parties: The pretended Deſign vaniſht, as never being more then a Phantaſme, and not worth the regard, the real Deſign effected ſo far, as they had power and opportunity*; that is, *to bring the Game into the Foil, and there leave them entangled*, to be *made a Quarry. You will finde me paſſively Active, being prompted* and enticed *by their inſinuation, and not once, but hearkening to them.* It lies *in your Lordſhips power to cut me off, by extending whereof you can arrive at no honour* amongſt *men: and poſſibly by an Act of Lenity you may do an Office acceptable to God*, Cujus fiat volunt as modo in mina mea; *Whoſoever ſhall be preſent at my Tryal, or, into whoſe hands this Narrative ſhall fall, will eaſily conclude with me*, Quos vult perdi Deus hos prius Dementat.

Euſeb. Andrews.

Shortly after he was called again, and was confronted with Sir *John Gell*; and avowed what he did neither directly deny, nor was troubled that he did aver. And then declared to *Bradſhaw*, that he looked upon Sir *John Gell* as upon himſelf, a betrayed man, and ſo was diſmiſt that time.

The noble Colonel, underſtanding thoſe Gentlemen taken with him were in reſtraint, writ to Sir *Henry Mildmay* concerning them in theſe words:

Honour'd Sir,

The paſt Nobleneſſe I am ſenſible at your hands, as civilly treating me when before the State, though a great Delinquent, gave me this encouragement, and you the trouble of this Addreſs. It is no ſmall encreaſe of my proper misfortune, that I ſee ſuch who were taken with me as Companions to my Perſon, to ſhare ſo deep in the puniſhment, as do thoſe Gentlemen, Mr. *Edwards*, and Mr. *Clark*: perſons ſo free from the guilt of my evil, that I am confident they cannot give account for what cauſe I am deſervedly a priſoner, though

it were made the price of their liberty. I am an humble Suitor to you, that you would take them into your favourable conſideration, and mediate their enlargement; and, that you would not let them have a worſe place in your thoughts, for that they are recommended to your Favour by, *&c.*

The Colonel ſeveral times took upon him to aver to the *Council of State*, that they had Spies upon him for ſome years, and particularly that infamous fellow *Barnard*, which *Bradſhaw* denyed not, but juſtified the *State*, by the practice of all Governments, to ſet Watches upon perſons of ill affection to them.

Being in this condition, he was adviſed to Petition the *Tyrannical Council*, which according to ſome of their own Directions, was this,

To the Right Honourable, the *Lord Preſident*, and *Council of State.*

The Humble Petition, &c.

Shews,

THat *your Petitioner is deeply ſenſible, and humbly acknowledgeth, that for his*

his high Delinquency againſt the State, *he is become forfeited to their Juſtice.--That he hath not in the leaſt prevaricated with your Lordſhips in the confeſſion of his proper faults and follies, nor hath kept ought reſerved concerning himſelf, or any perſon, or they which may ſatisfie your Lordſhips, and more ſecure the* State; *and is not hopeleſs to be look'd upon as capable of your preſent favour, and future mercy, which he now, and ſhall always implore.*

That his preſent deſerved Condition is made more uncomfortable by his wants, and the excluſion of his Friends and Relations, without a ſupply, in which, life it ſelf becomes a puniſhment.

Your Petitioner caſting himſelf at your Lordſhips feet, humbly prays, That his being proſecuted before the High Court of Juſtice, *may be ſuſpended; that by your order his paſt, and future charges of neceſſaries may be diſcharged while he remains your priſoner; That his Friends and Kinred may have recourſe to him, and that he may have the freedom of his Pen. And, in caſe your Petitioner ſhall be found in the laſt*

to miſapply theſe favours; he ſhall, adjudge himſelf worthy of a total deprivation of them, and your future goodneſs towards him.

And Your, *&c.*

Theſe were ſeconded with ſeveral other Petitions, eſpecially one to the Parliament, and back'd with Letters to the *Speaker*, and the Lieutenant of the Tower, in referrence to maintenance, and freedom of perſons coming to him, which with great difficulty, and by expreſs order too of the *Council*, was hardly obtain'd by a Gentlewoman of quality his friend.

Having endured a tedious impriſonment of ſixteen weeks, having nothing altered from thoſe cruel *Stateſmen*; he was at laſt in the Month of *Auguſt* brought to his tryal before a *High Court of Juſtice*, againſt whoſe Juriſdiction, and Authority he learnedly, and bravely ſpoke, and a; large denyed their power of trying and condemning any *Freeman of England*; their Erection being contrary to all the Laws of the Kingdom; the beginning of his firſt argument from not pleading to his Charge, was this:

My

My Lords, and you Gentlemen, Members of this Honourable Court.

I Have, as becomes me, been attentive to the Charge which hath been read againſt me. It appears in that dreſs, that it is put already (though I preſume it ſhall be clad in other Apparrel by Mr. Attourny, *ſo ſpecious and great, as that my friends (if I have any here) begin to fear, the indifferent to doubt, and the partial to deſire, and joyn in my condemnation, my ſelf (I hope I am not partial to my ſelf) believe, that it will be no more then the Mountains labour, and when it ſhall come to be opened, will prove* inane aliquod, *like the Apples of* Sodom, *that, however they take the firſt ſenſe, the eye, as this the ear, do rather foul the fingers that touch them, then ſatisfie the appetite in expectation upon them. My Lord, I am at an unuſual Bar, engaged in a great Cauſe of a far, and extendible Concernment; my fee is life, and my dutie is ſelf-preſervation; which in it ſelf were leſs conſiderable, if by a preſident of my ſuffering, the Conſequence would not prove miſchievouſly Epidemical.*

I

I do not refuse to plead to the Charge, but humbly crave leave to offer my Reasons for the suspending of my Plea. And if I be importunate, yet within the bounds of civility, I beg Your pardon, that I may have a free, full, and uninterrupted hearing.

He proceeded with admirable Elegance and strength of Argument, and Reason throughout his Tryal: But that bloody *Court*, and cruel *Attourney Gen. Prideaux* over-ruled them all: telling him, that the *Court* was not at leisure to take notice of those *Law-Cases*, but of his Confession; that he had an affection to it though nothing acted, and that was sufficient Treason, and for that affection he deserved Death; and thereupon the *Court* pronounced sentence against him, that he should be beheaded. Thus was the Birthright of a Freeman of *England* denyed by wicked Murtherers, whose will was their only Law.

Between Sentence and Execution he received a preparatory Letter to Death from a Dear friend, to which he returned this answer.

Friend, Your words sent to me were such, and so seasonable, that I have given them the same entertainment, as becomes me

me to afford to Apples of Gold, and Pictures of ſilver; and if I be after my decollation diſſected, you may finde them in my heart, where you always have had a Manſion.

If fear were abſolutely a neceſſary paſſion by which to denote a man, I muſt as yet be accounted among ſome other Species of Animality. *The fear of* Iſaac *hath baniſh'd all other dreadings.* I look upon Death as upon that Rod in the hand of God, with which he would not have corrected me if leſs correction would have ſerv'd turn; and which he doth now exerciſe upon me, becauſe he is reſolved not to let me be leſs then a Son beloved; and I am content to bear the ſtripes, and kiſs the Inſtrument. I am ſorry that my Rod is bound together with the ſin of my Betrayer, and wiſh him Repentance, that when the Rod comes to be burned, he ſuffer not in the flame *and adde into the ſoul errors of this Nation in matters concerning her* I am proud, and covetous to be releaſed from the double impriſonment I lie under, of the fleſh and bones, and am ready for the opportunity to make an eſcape,

eſcape, though in a fiery Chariot. All things betwixt God and me are removed from my ſight; and I ſee him clearly without reflexion on my Judges, and Accuſers: and ſubmit chearfully to His fatherly Diſpenſation, and Judgement.

My Judges have done me no wrong; they have a Law for their Warrant, and my confeſſion for their Evidence; neither have capacity to be *Chancellors* in matters of life; Let them go free, and the Law-makers? and inforcers of it, for their errours in conſtituting them, before the padling in blood grow too cuſtomary to be thought a ſin worthy their confeſſion, or ſorrow, which I deſire for the ſakes of their ſouls, and the lives of the oppreſſed, and in indeed preſcribed Free *Chriſtians* of the *Nation.*

The God of all goodneſs hath in mercy lhoked upon me, directed, counſel'd me, comforted, and ſanctified my afflictito me; and I am ready to fall into his merciful Hands, as ſoon as the heavy hand of the Executioner ſhall have given a *Nunc Dimitis* to

Yours, &c.

E. A.

ABout the ſame time he made his Will, a taſte whereof take in theſe few following lines. ——*If it be the unalterable and uncontrolable Will of God, that I* Euſebius Andrews, *Eſq; ſhall for my manifold and high Provocations of his Divine Majeſty be ſhipwrackt by that ſtorme which impendeth over my head, I moſt humbly and chearfully ſubmit unto ſuch his good will and pleaſure, and forgive,* &c. *and deſire, that my body may be privately interred in the Pariſh Church of* Alhallows Bark. *in* London, *as near as may be to the Reverend Arch-Biſhop of* Canterbury, *there with him to expect a joyful reſurrection. I beſeech God to bleſs my daughter* Mavilda Andrews, *and to ſupply to her, what by my improvidence, and the accidents of the late tempeſtuous times, as in my being taken away became deficient; and that he would preſerve her from want and diſhonour, and from being by any evil Counſel, or example, led aſide into the foul errors of this Nation in matters concerning her ſouls health,* &c.

Here he gave her, and the whole world, an account of his faith, which was equally diſtant from Popery, Presbytery, and In-

Independency, all which he characterized, profeſſing himſelf a true ſon of this Church, as governed by Epiſcopacy, and conluded thus; *I deſire ſuch, who approve my profeſſion, to cover my faults in their charity, and to let me be ſweet in their memory. As for the reſt, I wiſh them a ſeaſonable repentance, but ſet no price either upon their opinion or report, Vivat Rex, currat Lex, floreat Grex; fiat voluntas Des modo in mina mea.*

He was ſhortly after beheaded, and enrolled into the noble army of Martyrs in Heaven, the day and year aboveſaid.

Barnard, his accuſer and betrayer was hanged four years after at *Tyburn*, for robbing Colonel *Winthorps* houſe at *Weſtminſter*; ſo did God avenge the blood of this Royal and pious perſon, by ſignal teſtimony of his unjuſt and mercileſſe proſecution.

to me; [illegible] merciful Hands, as [illegible] the heavy hand of the Executioner (but [illegible] a *Nunc Dimittis* to

The

The Speech of Col. Euſebius Andrews *immediately before his Execution on the Scaffold on* Tower-hill, *on Thurſday* Auguſt 22. 1650. *being attended on by Dr.* Swadling.

AS ſoon as he came upon the Scaffold, kiſſing the block, he ſaid, I hope there is no more but this block between me and heaven; and to the *Lieutenant* of the *Tower* he ſaid, I hope I ſhall neither tire in my way, nor go out of it. After he had been a good while upon the Scaffold, turning to the rail, he ſpeaks to the people as followeth; *Chriſtian Gentlemen and people*, Your buſineſs hither to day is to ſee a ſad ſpectacle, a man to be in a moment unman'd, and cut off in the prime of his years, taken from further opportunities of doing good either to himſelf, his friends, the *Common-wealth*, or eſpecially to God; it ſeldom happens but upon very good cauſe. And though truly, if my general known courſe of life were but inquired into, I may modeſtly ſay there is ſuch a moral of honeſty upon it, as ſome may be ſo ſawcy as to expoſtulate why this great

great judgment is fallen upon me; but know, I am able to give them and my ſelf an anſwer, and out of this breaſt am able to give a better account of my Judgment and Execution then my *Judges* themſelves, or you are able to give; It is Gods wrath upon me for ſins long unrepented of, many Judgements withſtood, and mercies ſlighted; therfore God hath whipped me by his ſevere rod of correction, that he might not loſe me: I pray joyn with me in prayer, that it may not be a fruitleſs rod, that when by this rod I have laid down my life, by this ſtaffe I may be comforted, and received into glory. I am very confident by what I have heard ſince my ſentence, there is more exception made againſt proceedings againſt me then I ever made. My tryers had a Law, and the value of that Law is indiſputable, and for me to make a queſtion of it, I ſhould ſhame my ſelf and my diſcretion. In the ſtrictneſs of that Law ſomething is done by me, that is applicable to ſome clauſe therein, by which I ſtand condemnable: the means whereby I was brought under that interpretation of that which was in my ſelf intended maliciouſly, being teſtimony given

given (by perſons whom I pity) ſo falſe, yet ſo poſitive, that I cannot condemn my *Judges* for paſſing ſentence againſt me, according to legal Juſtice; for equity lieth in higher breaſts.

As for my Accuſers, or rather betrayers, I pity, and am ſorry for them, they have committed *Judas* his crime, but I wiſh and pray for them *Peters tears*, that by *Peters* repentance they may eſcape *Judas* his puniſhment; and I wiſh other people ſo happy, they may be taken up betimes before they have drunk up more blood of *Chriſtian* men, poſſibly leſs deſerving then my ſelf.

It is true, there have been ſeveral addreſſes made for mercy, and I will put the obſtruction of it upon nothing more then upon my own ſin, and ſeeing God ſees it fit, (having not glorified him in my life) I might do it in my death; which I am contented to do. I profeſs in the face of God, particular malice to any one of State or Parliament, to do them a bodily injury I had none.

For the Cauſe in which I had long waded, I muſt needs ſay, my engagement or continuance in it hath laid no ſcruple upon

upon my Conscience, it was in principles of Law; the knowledge whereof I profess; and on principles of *Religion*, my *Judgement* satisfied, and *Conscience* testified, that I have pursued those ways which I bless God I find no blackness upon my Conscience, nor have I put it into the bed-roll of my sins.

I will not presume to decide controversies; I desire God to honour himself in prospering that side that hath right with it, and that you may enjoy peace and plenty; when I shall enjoy peace and plenty, beyond all you possesse here; in my conversation in the world, I do not know where I have an enemy with cause, or that there is such a person whom I have to regret; but if there be any whom I cannot recollect under the notion of *Christian* men, I pardon them, as freely as if I had named them by name, I freely forgive them, being in free peace with all the world, as I desire God for Christs sake, to be at peace with me. For the business of death, it is a sad sentence in it self, if men consult with flesh and blood: But truly without boasting, I say it, or if I do boast, I boast in the Lord, I have not to this minute, had one con-

conſultation with the fleſh about the blow of the *Axe*, or one thought of the *Axe*, more then as my paſs-port to glory.

I take it for an honour, and I owe thankfulneſs to thoſe under whoſe power I am, that they have ſent me hither to a place, however of puniſhment, yet of ſome honour to die a death, ſomewhat worthy of my blood, anſwerable to my birth and qualification, and this courteſie of theirs hath much helped towards the pacification of my mind.

I ſhall deſire God that thoſe *Gentlemen* in that ſad bed-rol to be tried by the High Court of *Juſtice*, that they may find that really there that is nominal in the Act; an High Court of *Juſtice*, a Court of high *Juſtice*, high in its righteouſneſs, though not in its ſeverity. *Father forgive them, and forgive me as I forgive them.*

I deſire you now that you would pray for me, and not give over praying till the hour of death, not till the moment of death, for the hour is come already; that as I have a great load of ſins, ſo I may have the wings of your prayers to help thoſe *Angels* that are to convey my

my ſoul to Heaven, and I doubt not, but I ſhall ſee my Saviour, my gallant Maſter the King of *England*, and another Maſter whom I much honoured; my Lord *Capel*, hoping this day to ſee my *Chriſt* in the preſence of the *Father*, the *King* in the preſence of him, my Lord *Capel* in the preſence of them all, and my ſelf there to rejoyce with all other *Saints* and *Angels* for evermore.

Doctor *Swadling* (he being upon the Scaffold) ſpake as followeth unto the *Colonel*.

You have this morning in the preſence of a few, given ſome account of your Religion, and under general notions or words, have given an account of your faith, charity, and repentance.

To thoſe on the Scaffold: if you pleaſe to hear the ſame queſtions asked here, you ſhall, that it may be a general teſtimoney to you all, that he died in the favour of God.

To the Colonel. Now, Sir, I being to deal with you; do you acknowledge that this ſtroke that you are to ſuffer, is a juſt puniſhment laid upon you by God for your former ſins?

Col.

Col. Andrews. I dare not only deny it, but dare not but confeſs it; I have no opportunity of glorifying *God* more, then by taking ſhame to my ſelf, and I have a reaſon of the Juſtice of *God* in my own boſom; which I have put to your boſom.

Doctor. You acknowledge that you deſerve more then this ſtroak of the *Axe*, and that a far greater miſery is due to you, even the pains and Torments of Hell that the damned there endure.

Col. I know it is due in righteous Judgement; but I know again, I have a ſatisfaction made by my Elder-brother *Chriſt Jeſus*; and then I ſay it is not due, 'tis due from me, but quitted by his Righteouſneſs.

Doct. Do you believe to be ſaved by that Mediator, and none other?

Col. By that, and that only; renouncing all ſecondary cauſes whatſoever.

Doct. Are you truly, and unfeignedly ſorry before *God*, as you appear to us, for all thoſe ſins that have brought you hither?

Col. I am ſorry, and can never be ſorrowful enough, and am ſorry I can be no more ſorry.

Doct.

Doct. If *God* ſhould by a Miracle (not to put you to a vain hope) but, if *God* ſhould as he did to *Ezekiah*, renew your days: what life do you reſolve to lead hereafter?

Col. It is a queſtion of great length, and requires a great time to anſwer. Men in ſuch ſtraits would promiſe great things, but I would firſt call ſome friends to limit how far *I* ſhould make a Vow, that I might not make a raſh one, and to offer the Sacrifice of Fools; but a Vow I would make, and by *Gods* help endeavour to keep it.

Doct. Do you wiſh health and happineſs upon all lawful Authorities, and Government?

Col. I do prize all obedience to lawful Government, and the adventuring againſt them is ſinful; and I do not juſtifie my ſelf, whatever my judgement be; for my thus adventuring againſt the preſent Government; I leave it to *God* to judge whether it be righteous; if it be, it muſt ſtand.

Doct. Are you now in love, and charity with all men? Do you freely forgive them?

Col. With all the World freely, and th:

the Lord forgive them, and forgive me, as I freely forgive them.

Doct. You have for ſome late years laid down your Gown, and took up the Sword, and you were a man of Note in thoſe parts where you had your reſidence. I have nothing to accuſe you for want of diligence in hindering the doing of injuries: yet poſſibly there might be ſome wrong done by your *Officers*, or thoſe under you to ſome particular men: If you had your Eſtate in your hands, would you make reſtitution?

Col. The wrongs themſelves you bring to my mind are not great, nor many; ſome things of no great moment, but ſuch as they are, my deſire is to make reſtitution, but have not wherewithall.

Doct. If you had ability, would you likewiſe leave a legacy of thankfulneſs to *Almighty God*, ſomething to his poor Servants: to his lame Members, to his deaf Members, to his dumb Members?

Col. My will hath always been better then my ability that way.

Doct. Sir, I ſhall trouble you very little further; I thank you for all thoſe heavenly Colloquies I have enjoyed by being in your Company theſe three days

and truly I am very ſorry I muſt part with ſo heavenly an Aſſociate. We have known one another heretofore, but never ſo *Chriſtian*-like before; I have rather been a Scholar to learn from you, then an Inſtructor; I wiſh this Stage wherein you are made a Spectacle to *God*, *Angels*, and the *World*, may be a School to all about you; for though I will not diminiſh your ſins, nor ſhall I conceal, nor hypocrize my own, for they are great ones betwixt *God* and my ſelf, yet I think there is few here have a lighter load upon them then you have; if we conſider things well, and I only wiſh them your Repentance, and that meaſure of Faith which *God* hath given you, and that meaſure of Courage you have attained from *God*, and that conſtant perſeverance *God* hath crowned you with hitherto.

Col. His Name be praiſed.

Here the Doctor *prayed with him almoſt a quarter of an hour: after which the* Col. *turning himſelf again to the people, ſpake as followeth:*

One thing more I deſire to be clear in. There lieth a common imputation upon the Cavaliers, that they are Papiſts; and under that Name we are made odious to

thoſe

thoſe of the contrary opinion: I am not a Papiſt, but renounce the *Pope* with all his dependencies? when the diſtractions in *RELIGION* firſt ſprang up, I might have been thought apt to turn from this *Church* to the *Roman*, but was utterly unſatisfied in their Doctrine, in point of Faith, and very much as to their Diſcipline. The *Religion* which I profeſs, is that which paſſeth under the name of *Proteſtant*; though that be rather a name of diſtinction, then properly eſſential to *Religion*. But the *Religion* which was found out in the *Reformation*, purged from all the errours of *Rome* in the Reign of *Edward* the ſixth, practiſed in the Reigns of Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James*, and King *Charles*, that bleſſed Prince deceaſed; that *Religion* before it was defaced, I am of, which I take to be *Chriſts Catholique*, though not the *Roman Catholique Religion*: in the profeſſion and practice whereof, I will live and die; that for my *Religion*. Then he turnd himſelf unto the Executioner; I have no reaſon to quarrel with thee; thou art not the hand that throws the ſtone; I am not of ſuch an Eſtate to be liberal, but there is three pound for thee, which is all I

have. Now tell me what I lack? Execut. *Your hair's to be turned up.* Col. *Shew me how to fit my ſelf upon the block. After which his doublet being off, and hair turned up, he turned again to the people, and prayed a good while: Before he laid down upon the Block, he ſpake again to the people,* viz.

There is not one face that looks upon me, though many faces, and perhaps different from me in opinion and practice, but (methinks) hath ſomething of pity in it; and, may that mercy which is in your hearts fall into your own boſomes, when you have need of it; and may you never find ſuch blocks of ſin to ſtand in the way of your mercy, as I have met with. I beſeech you joyn with me in prayer. Then he prayed (leaning on the Scaffold) with an audible Voyce for about a quarter of an hour; having done, he had ſome private conference with Doctor *Swadling*; Then taking his leave of his Friends, Sheriffs, and Acquaintance, ſaluting them all with a courteous valediction, he prepared himſelf for the Block, kneeling down, ſaid, let me try the Block, which he did; after caſting his eyes up, and fixed them very intentively upon Heaven; he

he ſaid, when I ſay, *Lord Jeſus receive me*, Executioner do thine Office; then kiſſing the Ax he laid down, and with as much undaunted, yet *Chriſtian* courage, as poſſible as could be in man, did he expoſe his throat to the fatal Ax. his life to the Executioner, and commended his Soul into the Hands of a faithful and merciful Creator, through the meritorious paſſion of a gracious Redeemer: ſaying the forementioned words, his head was ſmitten off at one blow.

Sir *Henry Hide*, beheaded over againſt the *Exchance*, *March* 4. 1650.

AFter this Rebellion had aſſumed its various ſhapes, put all by, and made up with its ſeveral intereſts, till it had quite outed the manner of ttue *Religion*, when there was no Law left but the arbitrary Will and Powers of the *Grandees* at *Weſtminſter*: no man can wonder at this *Turkiſh* Example in the ſad fate of this Honourable Perſon.

The truth is, he was the noble Brother to that excellently prudent *States-man*, the Right Honourable Earl of *Clarendel*, Lord *Chancellor* of *England*. But we muſt detract from this *Martyrs* merit, if we involve it in his Brothers, whoſe capacious influence upon the Councels and affairs of this Nation, hath reſcued all honeſt and loyal men from the brinks of miſery and ruin ten thouſand times worſe then Death.

It is a ſad Subject to Comment on, eſpecially becauſe we may repeat nothing here, but what has been moſt favourably, and that at his honourable Relations importunity quite forgiven, though I hope that pardon extends not beyond the Memory of the *ſufferer*, whatever it reaches to in the Oblivion of the *Actor*.

He was ſent, as he avowedly declared at his death as a Meſſenger only from our Sovereign King *Charles* the ſecond, ſoon after the murther of his Royal Father to the Grand Seignior; that Office he aptly himſelf termed an *Internuncio*, which to his and the Kindomes Enemies founded worſe then the jealouſie of *Popery*.

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I make uſe of that term to diſcover the occaſion of this his fate; ſince it hath its diverſity of Names according to the cuſtomes and Languages of Nations, as *Envoy*, &c. in the *French*, but throughout the World barbarous or civil, unleſſe by ſiniſter and bribed Artifices, the very name of ſuch perſons were feared, and had in publique Veneration.

He was bred a Merchant, who traded to the *Levant*; and who by experience had gained, not only a conſiderable Eſtate therewith, but alſo a Repute and Eſtimation amongſt the *Turkiſh* Company; who, conſidering him as an intelligent Perſon in the buſineſſe and management of that Traffique and entercourſe, made and conſtituted him their *Conſul* at the *Morea*; which place, with what integrity he diſcharged, and how diſcreetly and advantagiouſly for the benefit of the ſaid Company, he went through and performed, we need not offer to the Teſt, ſince ſo univerſally approved.

For the convenience therefore of that concerning which the King had them at

the *Port*, this Gentleman was pitch upon and ſent thither, but what he would have tranſacted there, if not oppoſed, is not to be aſcertained; only thus far we may be aſſured, that there was little of publique matter therein, eſpecially of prejudice to this Nation, or that Commerce in particular, as was moſt falſly and ſcandalouſly noiſed by his Enemies, as may appear by a little inſtance. For, near the ſame time, the Right Honourable the Lord *Wentworth*, being ſent Ambaſſadour from the King to the Emperour of *Ruſſia*, to acquaint him with the horrid murther of our Sovereign his Royal Father; and to deſire ſome aſſiſtance from him in order to the reducing of his Revolted Kingdomes; whereunto the Emperour frankly offered, beſides what he would diſburſe of his own, the whole Eſtates, Goods, Merchandizes of the *Engliſh* reſiding in his Dominions; my Lord utterly refuſed the motion, acquainting the Emperour, that the King never had harboured any diſpleaſure againſt his Merchant Subjects, of whoſe loyaltie and affection to him he was very well ſatisfied, though it was out of their power and ability to ſerve him.

So

So that it was a groundleſs and unreaſonable calumny framed on purpoſe to render him odious to the people: that his deſign and errand to *Conſtantinople* was upon the Merchants there in relation to their Eſtates, and that he was ſent in the room of Sir *Thomas Bendiſh*, to be his Majeſties Leiger there for that purpoſe; a ſcandal which obliquely hit Sir *Henry* to the taking away his life, but was doubly aymed at his Majeſty, whom they would render to his Subjects (as they in their Traiterous Papers had called him) an Enemy to the *Common-wealth*.

At his going to *Conſtantinople*, ſeveral Meſſages paſt betwixt him and Sir *Thomas Bendiſh*, in order to his audience, which uſually is prepared by the Reſident there, which his miſtakes and jealouſie was a long time delayed, and at laſt fruſtrated. The *Vizier* being wrought upon to betray him, and to ſend him away for *England* by the Ships then bound thither from *Smyrna*, in one whereof (contrary to his Deſignation, and reinfect with ſome of Sir *Thomas Bendiſhes* men, who ſided with him in obedience to the Kings Authority) he arrived at

London, and was presently committed to the *Tower*, where he past his Examination.

I shall omit any further account, but refer the Reader to that Apology or Defence, which Sir *Thomas Bendish* lately published, in excuse of himself, and to free and clear his Reputation, charged with the guilt of this *Martyrs* death, and more especially to what Sir *Henry* himself said: a view whereof you have in the subsequent leaves.

After some while imprisonment, he was brought before the *High Court of Justice*, and heard in defence of his life, wherein he would have used, and desired to speak in the *Italian* Language, being through long disuse of his Mother-tongue not so ready and expressive, as that important matter required he should be; which request, by the folly and madness of his Judges was imputed to him as an affected pride and vanity. In conclusion, by a Power intrusted and lodged in that *High Court of Justice*, by Authority of Parliament, he was sentenced to be beheaded, and the place and day assigned for the Execution.

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The main incentive to this villany was without doubt the nearneſſe of his Honourable Brother to the King, at whom this blow glanced; if alſo they did not remember and reckon their two preſumptuous Emiſſaries, and Agents, *Doriſlaus* and *Achtan* into the ſcore.

However it was, Sir *Henry* nothing diſmaid at this outrage againſt his Life and Honour, quietly ſubmitted to his doom; and at his death, though accompanied thereto with many diſeaſes and Infirmities, couragiouſly aſſerted his Cauſe, owned his Maſter the King; and cleared them both from any Aſperſions, and ſo rendered his Soul to God.

Sir Henry Hide's *ſpeech on the Scaffold near the Exchange, immediately before his Execution,* March 4. 1650.

READER, *Take notice, that this Speech following is publiſhed in thoſe very words that the Gentleman delivered them; and though there be ſome abrupt breakings off, and other expreſſions not ſo ſmooth as might have been, yet I could not with honeſty alter a word, and therefore have I tyed my ſelf to his own expreſſions, that I may neither abuſe the world, or the dying man, or my ſelf.*

THE Gentleman came in a Coach to the Scaffold, attended by the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, and the Sheriffs of *London*, and alſo in his company one of his ſervants, and Dr. *Hide.*

Sir *Hen. Hide.* I Am come to put in practice the Chriſtian Profeſſion; and as I owe a death to nature and ſin, now I pay it upon the ſcore of grace.

Dr.

Dr. *Hide. Bleſſed be God that hath enabled you to it: God hath and will enable you.*

Sir *H. Hide.* Looking round on the People, he ſaid, A populous City, God bleſs it, and grant they may live to his Grace. Then turning to his Man, he ſaid, *John*, I pray now, though I have not been a good Maſter to you, be you a good Servant, and accompany me with your prayers, and help me both in body and mind *John*; Have you my things about you *John?*

Then ſtaying for his Servants, they being not on the Scaffold, he ſaid, I had rather have my Servants then ſtrangers.

Then the Lieutenant of the *Tower* coming to him, he ſaid, pray Sir rejoyce with me: I thank Almighty God I am brought hither to ſuffer for him.

Lieut. of the Tower. I am glad you are ſo comforted: Gods Will be fulfilled in all things.

Sir *H. Hide.* If God call me to him, and I glorifie him, it is well: I ſeek only the company of your Chriſtian Prayers.

Lieut. of the Tower. I ſhall not be want-

wanting in that, God willing.

Then the Chirurgion coming (but not his Kinſman who was called for) he ſaid, My kinſman is of no uſe, you may be uſeful about my body. I hope Mr. Sheriff, that you'l give order I may have a little more room here.

Sheriff. Yes, yes, Sir.

Sir *H. Hide.* And likewiſe for libertie of ſpeech, and that it ſhall pleaſe you (for I am not acquainted with the forms here of *England*) that I may ſpeak my own ſenſe (I am now going into the preſence of Almightie God) a very little, without any diſturbance.

Sheriff. Why Sir, you ſhall.

Sir. *H. Hide. John,* where is my Coffin?

John. It is here Sir.

Sheriff. Sir, it ſeems theſe men cannot be found.

Sir *H. Hide.* But if Mr. *Barret* could be found. After ſome ſtay, Mr. *Barret* being not found, the Sheriff ſpake to him, ſaying.

Sheriff. You have your libertie, you know your time.

Sir *H. Hide.* Where is the place of ſtanding, that way or this way? pointing

ing towards the *Exchange* and the *Poultery.*)

Sheriff. Which way you pleaſe: you may ſtand which way you will, but that way you muſt lie (pointing towards the *Exchange.*)

Sir *H. Hide.* I am indifferent: it is not the way to heaven where a man ſtands.

One brought word to him that there was no help to be had.

Sir *H. Hide.* That is no hinderance to my felicity.

Dr. *Hide.* God enable you that you may find that joy and comfort, which is due to the glory of his holy Name; he will not forſake you that have put your truſt in him.

Sir *H. Hide.* I will open my heart and my mouth with thankſgiving (if this Gentleman pleaſe to give way.)

Then turning towards the *Poultery*, he put off his Hat, and ſaid, *Glory be to God on high, on Earth Peace, good will to men.*

CHriſtian People, I come hither to die; I am brought hither to die; and that I may die Chriſtian-like, I humbly beſeech your Chriſtian Prayers, that by the

the benefit of them my paſſage may be the more eaſie: Yet becauſe men in that condition, which it hath pleaſed God to reduce me, carry more credit to their Speeches: In the diſcharge of my Duty towards God, I ſhall uſe a few words, and ſo diſpatch.

I pray all of you joyn with me to praiſe this Almighty God, to whom I deſire to render all hearty thanks; as for all his mercies, ſo in particular for this, That he hath brought me hither: That whereas I owe a duty to Sin and to Nature, I can pay it upon the account of Grace. And becauſe it is fit to render an account of the hope that is in me, I ſhall tell you, to the praiſe of Almighty God, That I have been born and bred up in the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, I have no negative Religion, believing to be ſaved by the onely merits of my Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, (*putting off his Hat*) and whatſoever elſe is profeſt in the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of *England*, authorized by Law, humbly beſeeching Almighty God to reſtore unto this Church her Peace, Proſperity and Patrimony, whereof I have been an obedient and a loving (however an unworthy)

worthy) Son. And now both my Hope being confident, and my Faith perfected, there remains onely Christian Charity; Charity we carry into heaven, Charitie on Earth, and that I leave, beseeching all whomsoever I have offended (whether I have or no) to forgive me, as I from the bottom of my heart do them whomsoever; blessing Almighty God for the happy advantage he takes to bring me nearer to heaven; blessing Almighty God, that he hath given me this advantage, as he hath been merciful, to me before the foundation of the world in my Saviour; so that now he hath in mercy honoured me with suffering for his Name, in obedience to his Commandment.

On this day seven night I was summon'd before that Justice, which condemned me on *Friday* last, praised be Almightie God, that by this way he hath brought me the nearer to himself (*putting off his hat*) My Charge I presume is publick, as my punishment is visible: if there have been any thing in the management of my part being unskilful, having discontinued my own Countrie many years,

years, I ſhall beſeech the Chriſtian charity of all you my beloved Country-men, to impute it unto the right part, the ignorance that is in this skilful way of managing: It was objected unto me there, that I had a vanitie of delighting in ſtrange Tongues. I was beſt skill'd in the *Italian* (but free from that vanity, I thank Almightie God) and therefore I would in defence of my life (if it had been the Cuſtom here, or the Judges favour) have uſed that Language.

It was objected, That I did not ſo freely as a thorow-paced Cavalier, own my Maſter: I was told ſince I came into *England* (for other skill I have not in your Laws) that a legal Denial in Law might be tolerable; I hope I did not exceed the bounds of that in any thing, for God forbid that I ſhould be aſhamed of ſerving ſo good, ſo pious, ſo juſt a Maſter (*putting off his hat*) for that I therein rejoyce, and I humbly beſeech Almightie God to fill my heart and my tongue, and all that hear me this day with thankfulneſs for it.

As to the buſineſs, that another conſtruction had been made and believed here, then what was there, the righteous God

God knoweth it; if any weakneſs was in the management, that was mine: I was ſent to ſerve and protect, not to injure any: and as God acquits me of the intention in matter of Fact, as having done any manner of evil that way, however here underſtood, bleſſed be his holy Name, (*putting off his hat*) ſo thoſe Gentlemen of the Turkey Company, if they would ſeriouſly conſider, for they know it very well, the impoſſibilitie of my doing them any manner of harm. Whereas that of the Embaſſie objected againſt me, that my Maſter never honoured me with all, I was never worthy of it, I was his Meſſenger, an *Internuncio* for the conſervation only of his good Subjects, of all the Merchants, until ſuch time as he could confirm that Gentleman now Reſident, or to ſend any other, and they themſelves know that there was impoſſibility in me (as I bleſs God there was an innocency in me) unto any ſuch intention to do them any harm; for my Maſters Commands were point-blank the contrary; I was onely ſent for their good: as I never owned the Title, ſo the very Letters themſelves ſpeaking no other: I never did ſo much as think of any manner

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of Addreſs unto the *Grand Seigniour*, but gave him the Letter from my Maſter; the reſt of the *Engliſh Nation* that were there preſent, may, when they pleaſe, aſſert ſo much. This I would inſert, That thoſe Gentlemen, as they have been loſers by the miſcarriages of others, may now have no breach of their charity with me; but if it be, as it ſeems it is now in this Country, a Sin to be Loyal, I hope my God hath forgiven that, when it is upon harmleſs employment, not invading any, according to his juſt Maſters Order; for indeed I have bin alwais bred up in that *Religion*; my Allegiance hath been incorporated into my *Religion*, and I have thought it a great part of the ſervice due from me to Almighty God, to ſerve the King (*putting off his Hat.*) I need not make any Apology for any thing in relation to the preſent things in *England*, for were I (as I ſpake before my Judges) as evil, as my Sentence hath made me black, it were impoſſible for me to have prejudiced any body in *England*, or to *England* belonging in that employment; but I bleſs God for his infinite mercy in Jeſus Chriſt (*putting off his Hat*) who hath brought me home to him here in this way,

way, it was the beſt Phyſick for the curing of my Soul, and thoſe that have done it, have no more power then that of my body. I leave nothing behind me, but that I am willing to part withal, all that I am going to is deſireable: And that you may all know that Almighty God hath totally wrought in me a total Denial of my ſelf; and that there is that perfect *Reformation* of me within, and of my own corruption, by the bleſſed aſſiſtance of his holy Spirit; I deſire Almighty God in the abundance of the bowels of his mercy in Jeſus Chriſt, not only to forgive every Enemy, (if any ſuch be in the World, here, or whereſoever) but to bring him into his Boſom ſo much good and particular comfort, as he may at any time, whether the Cauſe were juſt or unjuſt, have wiſhed me any manner of evil; for I take him to be the happy inſtrument of bringing me to Heaven. It is tedious, but I have an inward comfort, I bleſs Almighty God; (pray Gentlemen give me leave, *ſpeaking to ſome that preſt upon him*) I ſhould never do it, but to give ſatisfaction to all charitable hearts. I have been troubleſome.

Sheriff.

Sheriff. *You have your liberty to ſpeak more, if you pleaſe.*

Sir *Henry Hide.* But as to that part, Maſter Sheriff, that did concern the Denial (as it was affirmed by *Maſter Attorney General*) of my Maſters employment. Truly landing at *Whitehall*, I told that *Council*, there was juſt Commiſſions to an old Officer by the bleſſing of God, I have by me; and I have other good things that God hath bleſſed me withall, more then all the good *Chriſtians* in the World, that are not the *Grand Seigniour's* Slaves: And we that are Merchants abroad, we allow our ſelves any ſufferance that may conduce to our own ſafety, enlargement of Trade, or preſervation of what is ours. Why I had by the grace of my gracious Maſter a confirmation of my old Commiſſion of *Conſulage* in *Greece*: But as to the Embaſſie, no more then my Credential Letters did ſpeak, nor no more then that I attempted; an *Internuncio* they call it in thoſe places, which is a Meſſenger between the one and the other KING: They both unhappily died of ſeveral Deaths, and both violent too. And it is a Cuſtom not unknown to you, Maſter Sheriff, and other Gentlemen

men that practice in the World, that Princes of course, for the continuance of Amity, do send Messengers where there is Peace, that the transaction of those publique expressiens of reciprocal Affection may be performed; but for Embassie, God forbid I should own it, I never had it; however, they have used it as the happy means to bring me to God this day. I beseech God in the Bowels of my Saviour, to forgive those people that have done it; I owe them no harm, so God pay them home with all the good of this, and an everlasting life.

As for power, I have been long absent here in *England*, I meddle with none: Sufficient to me is Gods grace to to the salvation of my soul.

I have been alwayes fearful of offending Almighty God, according to the grace he hath given me, but to learn new Religion, and new Wayes, (that I must say Mr. Sheriff to you, and all others that hear me, I cannot dispence with my Conscience to give offence to Almighty God. I am now (if it may be with your permission, Master Sheriff) to pour out my soul to Almighty God in two or three words (the place is straitned) if I knew where-

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in to give any ſatisfaction to any thing whatſoever, wherein I have offended or no, I am here in the fear of God to do it. I forgive them with all my ſoul, and my forgiveneſs is clear, as I am now going to receive happineſs at the hands of my Saviour: But if I thought it were ſatisfaction to Sir *Thomas Bendiſh*, and all the Company, or any who think they have offended me, I am come Mr. Sheriff, to pay that Obedience willingly, that Debt I owe to Nature, to pay it upon the ſcore of a Subject, becauſe Conſcience within me, tels me not, that for the intentions of ſerving my Prince, that I could deſerve ſuch a Death, though ten thouſand times more other ways.

Dr. *Hide. There was ſome ſuſpition that you might impart the way you were upon to ſome of thoſe ſervants that were with you.*

Sir *Henry Hide.* I humbly thank you for remembring me of it, and if any be here of the *Turky* Company this day, or any Friend of theirs, I ſhall deſire them from a dying Man, to take this Truth; That neither my Brother, my innocent Brother

Brother that this is with me, nor other Gentlemen with me in my Company, have contributed any thing to their disturbance; it was my own business, whatsoever hath been done, that hath been to evil, or loss, though I deny both of them in my intentions: I come not here to accuse any man, nor excuse my self, but I praise God for all his deliverances; yet I know I shall do God a great deal of Service, and them a great deal of Justice, in not involving any of my Company in any thing of mischief. I cannot answer Objections: I finde a man may be in *Turky*, or in any place, all the World over, where they will give that Language which they hold fitting; but this is beneath me. Blessed be Almighty God, that hath called me to the knowledge of him; and this ready Obedience which I pray, and mercifully accepting of my Saviour, and patient death: And I beseech you all, whatsoever you are, that you will accompanie me with your Prayers, whereby my Soul may be assisted within me, in that passage to my Saviour whether I am going. I am weak of body, I have discontinued long from the Kingdom; I am unacquainted with new Forms, I have de-

ſired to ſerve God according to his Commandements after the old way: I have begged mercy of God for all my offences to him, and have had my pardon ſealed from Heaven by the blood of my Saviour; I beg pardon of all whoſoever, whether I have offended them, or no; I truly forgive them, and have beſought Almighty God to pour his bleſſings upon them. I accuſe no man; I find fault nor quarrel with no man, neither with the perſons that were the occaſions, they were but inſtruments; neither at the perſons condemning; I accept thankfully the Sentence of Death upon my ſelf; and I beſeech Almighty God, that I may be the laſt that may ſuffer upon this ſcore, or upon any other.

Maſter Sheriff. If there be any thing wherein I can give any other ſatisfaction to any *Chriſtian* whatſoever, in any kind, as I ſpake in general. I bleſs God Almighty from my own Heart, now ſo aſſiſted by the ſpecial Operation, and Motions, and Dictates of the Holy Ghoſt. If I can know any thing, wherein, or how to be now in my dying (not having ſerved God ſo well in my life) ſerviceable to the Church of God, of Chriſt, and the full ſatisfaction of

of any whatſoever, I am here ready; I am unacquainted, but in my extaſies to Heaven, there is that glorie I am going to. I beſeech Almighty God, that he will give me grace to bleſs his holie Name; as for all, as for Jeſus Chriſt, and in him all things, ſo particularly for this, that he hath thought me worthie to bring me hither for my faithfulneſs to my Maſter, that is the moſt pious and moſt juſt Prince in all the World. My Maſter hath ſuffered bitterly in *England*; and if there be any failing in his ſervice, the fault is only mine. God knows, I have done nothing in the buſineſs, but by the inſtance of the Merchants; *I* delivered my Letters, and there they lie: To other things I am a ſtranger. I hope that God will give me the grace of perſeverance in that *Chriſtian Religion*, in that loyaltie to my Prince; in that love to all the World: that now (being to give up my account to him, that) I may with comfort be received into the Arms of his Mercie.

If there be any thing, Maſter Sheriff, that I may give ſatisfaction in, I am readie to do it according to the poor talent I have. I will receive my puniſhment in the way God hath prepared for me; and me-

nie waies I have been taken up. Truly I am bound to all that see me, and manie thousands more since I came into *England*, not an uncivil look; (we had strange Reports abroad) not an uncivil look from anie: God repay them all, and return them from the Throne of his grace into their own Bosoms. And God in particular bless that honourable Ladie; who was the occasion of the coming of my Lords Grace of *Armagh*, with the Confirmation of those glorious and eternal Messages of Comfort which now I am going to enjoy: being thankful to all those that know me, and know me not, for since I am come hither, whereas I might have received prejudice in respect to my Loyaltie (which is not the way, now) I have from them all received courtesie, the Lord repay them. I thank God I am otherwise bred, and my Allegiance hath been incorporated, embodied into my *Religion*; and besides the great desires of other Gentlemen, that I might go out of the World; but that the World might see that the Grace of God hath had a perfect Reformation in me, and a willing and thankful submission to his Will, therefore I repent me not of it; but I beseech Almightie

mightie God to bleſs and proſper all people whatſoever that to this Kingdom belong. As my Speech is imperfect, ſo is my health. I have forced my ſelf in this Diſcourſe to give that ſatisfaction which I could. And I beſeech you Mr. Sheriff, if you can hear of any Gentlemen that are wronged, what I offer here, I am to anſwer it; and I beſeech you join with me in your *Chriſtian prayers*, that I may have a paſſage whether I am now going to give an account: not only of everie deed, but of everie word.

Then turning to his Man, he ſaid,

Sir *H. Hide. John*, which is the Executioner?

The Executioner being brought to him, he ſaid,

Sir *H. Hide.* Honeſt Friend, I have no quarrel with you, you are the welcom inſtrument, do your work, only let me ſee the place, that I may fit my ſelf, for I have an infirm body.

Shriff. You ſhall when you have prayed; if you pleaſe to pray firſt.

Sir *H. Hide.* I deſire to ſee the Block, I can pray afterwards. Here Mr. Executioner is that mony that is left; here is four pounds for you.

Then being ſhewed the Block, he kiſſed it, ſaying,

Sir *H. Hide.* It is unworthie for me to put my head where my Maſters was; bleſſed be God, bleſſed be his holy Name (*putting off his Hat*) I have an infirmitie in my body, but God hath enabled me inwardly. Pray Mr. Sheriff let me have a little more room.

Sheriff. Go to prayer, and we will clear the room.

Sir *H. Hide.* I have (I thank Almighty God) done thoſe *Chriſtian* Offices belonging to me at home, I am come hither only to die.

Then kneeling down, he ſaid the *Lords Prayer.*

Then having prayed a ſhort ſpace, he ſtood up, and turning to the Executioner, ſaid.

Sir *H. Hide.* Honeſt Friend, I pray give me direction what I am to do, and do your Office: you will cure all diſeaſes preſently; pray direct me.

Then the Executioner going to ſpread the Scarff over the Block, he ſaid,

Sir *H. Hide.* Put it not on now, but by and by.

D. *Hide.* God Almightie ſtrengthen you.

Sir

Sir *H. Hide.* God reward you all.

Then the Executioner going to put up his hair under his Sattin Cap, he thought he had been taking of it off; whereupon he said,

Sir *H. Hide.* Must I have my black Cap off? it is very cold; all these diseases will be cured, the Lord be thanked.

Then going to lie down, his Man not helping him, he said,

Sir *H. Hide.* *John*, Help me a little, I pray: Did not I tell you I could neither rise nor fall? Lay me down, and lift me up again, *John.*

Then rising again upon his knees, he spake to the Executioner, having the Ax in his hand.

Sir *H. Hide.* Pray Sir, give me the Ax.

And then taking the Ax in his hand, he kissed it, and returned it to the Executioner again, saying,

Sir *H. Hide.* I will only say, *Lord Jesus receive my Soul*, and when I lift up my right-hand, do your work.

And then lying down again, after a little space he lift up his right-hand, and the Executioner at one stroke severed his head from his body.

Mr. Benſon *Executed*, Octob. 7. at *London* 1650.

THis perſon was ingaged and traſpan'd into the ſame unfortunate buſineſs with *Colonel Andrews*, on purpoſe by his means to draw in alſo Sir *John Gell*, of whom before, he having been a ſervant and retainer to the ſaid Knight many years before. He had alſo born office, and had a command under him during the time Sir *John* ſerv'd the Parliament, and numbred himſelf afterwards amongſt theſe, who being uncommiſſioned, were generally known by the name of *Reformadoes*.

Upon theſe accounts he became obnoxious to them, eſpecially of the men at *Weſtminſter*, who by their inſtruments ſearching into his diſcontents, ſoon worked him into the Plot. A capacious deſign it was, which comprehended and included all intereſts, *Cavalier*, *Presbyterian*, and *Leveller*, together with thoſe formerly caſhier'd Officers under *Eſſex*, and which had it taken its wicked intended effect, would have made them appear ſo cunning and terrible, ſo diſheartned

heartned and terrified all men againſt oppoſing, or endeavouring againſt the tyranny, that their new *Common-wealth* would have been a ſolitude or wilderneſs, where like beaſts, not men, we ſhould have been afraid one of another.

Col. *Andrews* at his taking, was of opinion that this perſon was of the gang that betrayed him, but it appeared to the contrary, for *Barnard* had clearly poſſeſt him with the reality and feaſibleneſs of the deſign, into which he was ſo rationally as he thought, and upon ſuch ſure grounds engaged, ſuch and ſuch great perſons being nominated as principal therein, that not onely it was his belief, but his confidence, on which he had raiſed great hopes of advantage to himſelf, that this meritorious piece of ſervice would take effect.

Nay, ſo certain was he, that in the laſt trick put upon *Colonel Andrews* in reference to the drawing in of Sir *John Gell*, which was a menace, that if the Colonel did not procure Sir *Johns* hand and ſeal, the Confederates would themſelves go over to the King in *Holland*, and give ſuch an account of the affair to his Majeſty, as ſhould tend little to the credit

an

and honour of them both; that Mr. *Benſon* was inveigled in the head he ſhould be the man intruſted with the delivery thereof, and receive the deſigned mony for the Colonel to defray the management of that ſervice. This conceit was ſo rooted in him, that he quitted it not till he was really ſurpriſed and in cuſtody.

Nay, when there, ſo ſtrong was his fancy, and ſo ſet upon the iſſue of this buſineſſe, that he complained to himſelf of the Colonel, through whoſe backwardneſs and ſlow procedure therein, he thought it only miſcarried, not yet dreaming that he was made the ſtalkingly-horſe to his as well as their deſtruction.

It was imagined that they would have contented themſelves with that induſtrious ſervice he did them, by ſo exactly realizing their counterfeit plot, as a bird ſet to chirp others, by his merry note, into the ſnare; but no ſuch matter, having miſt the great ones they would be ſure of the ſmall, to give ſome ſatisfaction to their unſatiable thirſt of blood, and in order to ſome accompliſhment of their deſign, ſacrifice one of a ſort, and intereſt to their policy and Government, and him;

him they marked out for a *Reformado*, of whom by their claim of arrears due to them for service, there was some danger, and this was the most speedy and easie way of paying them.

At his Execution he spoke very little, saving of his regret, that he had ever served such Masters; wished prosperity to the King and Kingdom, and so was thrown off the ladder, a spectacle more of their shame then his own.

Captain Brown-Bushel *beheaded on* Tower-hill, *April* 29. 1651.

NOw their hand was in, all went to the *stake*; The *High Court of Justice*, proceeded in their blood-hound track, and their huntsmen rowzed their *game*. An old fault which had been remedied long ago, was brought into play again, that these journey-men Butchers might not want work, for the preparation whereof they had so often adjourned about this time their terrible Session.

Captain

Captain *Brown-Bushel* was the next criminal for his Loyalty, being secured in the Guard at *White-hall* in 1648. and from custody to custody till this time, when he was brought from the *Tower* to his Trial. The objected offence made up into a Charge of high Treason, was his delivering of *Scarborough*, where he had some kind of Command from the Parliament to the King, being himself a sea souldier, and then a Captain of a man of War.

He was a very expert and valiant person, well esteemed of by all sea-men, as he was well reputed by all honest & loyal people for this his last service, being not inconsiderable for his fortune. At the revolt of the Fleet to their due obedience under Sir *William Butten* to the Prince in the *Downs*, this Gentleman was in *London*: the War being finished, and like to renew again, where he lay waiting his opportunity of doing further service to his Majesty.

The rancour of that business festred in the minds of the party at *Westminster*, so that not having any of those Commanders and Captains, who were actively diligent in that businesse in their hands, they resolved

solved to wreak their fury and displeasure upon this Gentleman, and to quit scores with him for the trespasses and fractures of others.

He had him so long under restraint, that he was hard put to it for sustenance and necessaries of life, his poor wife running twice a day from *Covent Garden* to the *Tower*, to bring and provide his daily meat, besides a hundred jaunts to the Parliament and Council of State with Petitions to obtain his liberty, or at leastwise get him blotted out of that roll, wherein the just number of those who were to be tried at that high Court, was before ascertained.

But all availed nothing, they had designed more for the slaughter then they or their Engines could bring into the snare, and therefore he must die for number, that whatever else they wanted, they might not fail in that, so that after some adjournments of the Court, as before is specified, they called him to the Bar, and for that crime aforesaid condemned him, he in vain obtesting and imploring their favour, as in a matter wherein the State and their cause had received little prejudice or disadvantage, but seeing their severity

verity could not be mitigated by words, he frankly told them he was not afraid to die for his cause, and composed himself for his sentence, which was pronounced against him after some aggravations of his fact with more then usual acerbity.

Much stir there was made for a reprieve for him by his wife, and friends of hers, then in Authority, but reason of State, as they told her, prevailed against all pleas and arguments for mercy, though she was flattered but the day he died, he should be reprieved and finally pardoned, which glad tidings the poor overjoyed woman carried him about noon to the *Tower*, where they were merry and solacing together, in which pleasantness of mind about two a clock she left him, and at four came the Warrant for his present Execution (a most deviliſh cruelty) which, as is supposed, for fear of the sea-men, by whom he was well beloved, was executed at six of the clock the night aforesaid, upon the ground under the Scaffold, where he fearlessly and Christianly suffered, and resigned his soul into the hands of his Creator.

Mr.

Mr. *Love*, and Mr. *Gibbons*, beheaded on *Towerhill*, *Auguſt* 20. 1651.

I Know ſome ſcruple will be made againſt theſe perſons, as *Presbyterians* and ſufferers upon another account then of the fifth Commandement, as having their own, and the Kings intereſt interwoven with it: but all things conſidered, without much reconcilement of the different opinions; in this caſe we may venture to Regiſter, and enroll them in this *Martyrologie*.

For without all doubt, the bottom of their deſign was the Kings Reſtauration and however it was clog'd with Salves and Conditions for themſelves and their Partie (which abates ſomething of the luſtre, though not of the worth of this Crown) yet the main was Loyaltie, which they hoped to vindicate and evince to the World, who had hard thoughts of them in the matter of the Kings Death in the previous Method thereunto.

This Confederation was therefore begun juſt upon the concluſion of that horrid murther, that what they could not remedy in that, they might compenſate in this,

this, and by a timely application to his preſent Majeſtie; redeem themſelves into his good opinion and favour, forfeited by their former averſeneſſe to their dutie towards him.

To this purpoſe, moſt of the eminent Miniſters of that way in *London*, had ſeveral meetings and Conferences: in conſultation and debate of the manner of their proceeding in this Affair. Among them Mr. *Love* appeared to be moſt active and ſtirring, whether out of Conſcience of ſome unwarrantable, undutifull demeanour towards the King during the War, I take not upon me to determine. The reſt were Mr. *Jenkins*, Mr. *Robinſon*, Doctor *Drake*, Mr. *Watſon*, and others. Of the Lay-part Captain *Titus*, Mr. *Potter*, an Apothecary in *Black-fryers*, Mr. *Gibbons*, and ſome elſe.

Theſe held intelligence both with the King and the Parliament of *Scotland*, then not agreed, but in expectation of a Treaty, which was the firſt thing endeavoured by theſe men here to be promoted, and with deſired Effect Concluded.

Their

Their chief meeting-place was Mr. *Love's*, where their intelligence was communicated, Letters read, and advice given upon the ſeveral Emergencies of that Buſineſſe; which proceeded ſo far, that the King and his Subjects of *Scotland*, having ended the Treaty, and his Majeſtie arrived in *Scotland*, whether *Cromwel* with the Engliſh Armie was alſo advanced, and had worſted the *Kirks* Armie at *Dunbar*; They concluded of raiſing an Armie in this Kingdom to the aſſiſtance of that *Nation*, and the recovery of this from the ſlavery and Tyrannie it ſuffered under.

This paſſed through ſo many hands, engaged in it, and was ſo publiquely owned, that the *Council of State* had very early notice of the whole Deſign, ſo that they dained moſt part of the while in the Net; information being given of every daies proceedings, and of what additions or acceſſes of perſons to the Deſign: which ſoon after, when they had let it run as far, as without danger they might truſt it, they drew the Curtain, and apprehended moſt of the aforeſaid perſons, and brought them to Trial before a

High

High Court of Justice, which was yet ſtanding, and had not yet put off their blood-died Robes, in expectation of this Grand Contrivance, which ſhould make them farther work.

Mr. *Love* being one of the chief, was firſt Tried, afterwards ſome others, who recanted, and humbly beſought the Parliaments mercy, as Mr. *Jenkins* and *Potter*, but Mr. *Love's* ſubmiſſion (ſuch as it was, for they required Confeſſion and diſcoverie too) came too late, and to no purpoſe; ſo that he, and this Mr. *Gibbons* a Taylor, was condemned by that *High Court* for the ſame buſineſſe, loſt their Heads on *Tower-hill*, as aforeſaid.

The

The Earl of *Derby*, beheaded at *Bolton* in *Lancaſhire*, *Octob.* 15. 1651.

WHoſoever ſhall look upon the ſad Hiſtorie of this Princely perſon muſt be armed againſt all humanitie; if he condole not this miſerable Traggedie: every circumſtance whereof is a Scene of ſorrow, which alike moves indignation and compaſſion.

If we deduce him from his glorious originals, we ſee him deſcended from a moſt ancient and illuſtrious Family, in which Loyaltie was one of the Gentilitions inherent vertues, derived in the ſucceſſion of thoſe *Heroes*, who to this day adorn'd the noble name of *Stanley*, ſo memorated and famed in our *Annals*, eſpecially in the Reign of *Henry* the 7th. direct Anceſtor to his preſent Majeſtie.

The ſignal Services done at that time to this Crown and Kingdom, both by Victorie and Advice in the bleſſed union of the Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*; were ſo placed, that they ſeem to have directed only the imitation of their moſt Honourable Poſteritie, without the affectation of any thing but duty. For thoſe Heroick

roick actions have been ever since as Spurs and Incentives to the same *Grandeurs* of Loyaltie, manifested in all occasions and Affairs of the Crown through the whole current of Succession.

But this Noble Earl, whose unworthie Fate we now deplore, came neareſt that great Pattern; the Times, concurring with the activity of his mind, afforded him the advantage of employing and exerciſing that ſtock of Prudence and Valour, which had ſo long been treaſured up in the loines of his Princely Progenitors; and yet to the ſcandal and reproach of that Age, rewarding all his Honourable Attchievements with a moſt lamented *Cataſtrophy*.

If we alſo conſider therefore his great and perſonal merit and obligations upon this Kingdom, we ſhall find his Services, not to come ſhort of thoſe of his Anceſtors, (though clog'd with the burdenſome glory of giving a Crown) in deſignment and attempt; however they failed of their moſt probable effects.

But to mitigate the Envy of his Fate to innocent Poſteritie, I will not preſume with ſo rude a Pen to write their Monument, and at large relate them. He that hath

hath heard of a *Latham-House*, and *Marston-Moor* (as I suppose all men have) will easily confess his glories, which shone brightly in the Sphear of all Military worth to the setting of *Charles* his *Wain*.

In those gloomy and black dayes, he withdrew himself to a shelter in his Royaltie of the *Isle* of *Man*, awaiting a new opportunity of serving his present Majestie, which not long after offered it self, and was with all readiness of duty entertained by him.

For the King having resolved (*Cromwel* being gotten into *Fife* in *Scotland*) to pass into *England* over *Sterling-bridge* by the advantage of three daies march, gave present intimation thereof to the Earl, who in order to some other design had some forces in readiness: with these according to his instructions upon the Kings advance that way he landed, in *Lancashire* where his Interest and Power lay, and joined with his Majestie, who leaving him some forces to aid and assist him in his new Levies, against the Parliaments Forces then marching thitherward to suppress them, marched directly for *Worcester*.

As

As ſoon as the King was departed, Col. *Lilburn* was upon him, and at *Wiggon* in that County, with thrice his number fell upon the Earls ſmall party, not amounting to above 600 men, and after a ſharp encounter (which favourably promiſed Victory at the firſt, but through want of Reſerves failed the Earl in concluſion,) put him to the rout, where a many gallant Noble men and Gentry were ſlain and taken: as my Lord *Widdrington* and others, and the Earl himſelf hardly eſcaping to the King at *Worceſter*, being in the way forced to ſhelter at *Boſcolet*, the receptacle afterwards by my Lords direction of the King himſelf; who being worſted at *Worceſter* by the Rebels under *Cromwel*, (where his Majeſtie and his Nobilite diſcharged the place of brave Captains and Warriours, particularly, this undaunted Earl not yet wearied with his ill fortune) was conſtrained to abandon that City, and betake himſelf to a ſwift flight, in Companie with this faithful Lord, and other Honourable Perſons.

At *White-Ladies*, whither by the direction of the Earl the King was guided; he took his leave of his Majeſtie, having firſt taken care of his ſecurity, where alſo he

he himſelf might have found a ſubterfuge, but that he would not hazard his Majeſties ſafty, by a divided care of his Guardians for two, and that number though but ſo ſmall might not betray him.

At his departure he fell on his knees and wept, and then conjured the Pendants to be faithfully careful of his Majeſties perſon, dearer to him then ten thouſand lives; and ſo betook himſelf again to flight in company of the ſame retinue, who made after the road the *Scotch* horſe they had taken under *David Leſhly*.

At *Newport* in *Shropſhire* they overtook them, but with the ſame Col. *Lilburn* at their heels, who fell into the Town, and after a ſhort diſpute, diſperſed and took moſt of the party, among the principal whereof was this Noble and unfortunate Earl, the Earl of *Landerdale*, Lord *Sinclare*, and others, the Duke of *Buckingham* ſtrangely making his eſcape.

Becoming thus the prey of thoſe barbarous rebels, he was a while detained there till at laſt Orders came for his removal to *Cheſter*, where ſhortly after he was convented, by inſtructions of them at *Weſtminſter*, where the Earl deſired to be heard in perſon, before a Council of War,

all

all of them base and mechanick fellows, and of no great Command in their army, a barbarous shame, that the Honour of so great a personage, in a Country, where he was so well esteemed, reputed and reverenced, both for his own superlative vertues of liberality and bounty, and the continued obligements of his Ancestry, should be so violenced and profaned by a rascally sort of men, who assumed to themselves, and arrogated the power of life and death upon a Peer of such magnitude and veneration; an indignity worse by far then those outrages committed and perpetrated by *Jack Cade*, and *Wat Tyler*, and the rest of those rabbles, who in their mad fury did such-like pranks, whereas here this murther was countenanced by a colour of Law Martial, and done in the form and process thereof, but in this he imitated his dearly beloved Soveraign, who was reviled, contemned, and mocked in the same manner at their irreverent *High Court of Justice*, which no question did much sweeten that bitter Cup, which by the triumphant malice and revenge of his enemies, was given him brim full to drink.

But that which chiefly conduced to the quiet

quiet and compoſure of his ſpirit, was the ſenſe and acknowledgement of Gods determination and good pleaſure in the diſpoſing of him, and bringing into that ſad condition, which he meekly and humbly underwent, ſubmitting to that hand which ſo afflicted him; And queſtionleſs great was that heavenly ſupport which God miniſtred unto him, many the alterations of thoſe contumelies intended againſt him, as we may ſee in the time, and in his way to his Execution, of which I ſhall ſay no more, but onely inſert an omiſſion in the black tribunal, and which I had from unqueſtionable credit, that the ſouldiers themſelves, who were upon the Scaffold, could not refrain from weeping, but ſhed tears abundantly, and that this other paſſage alſo, that having laid down his head, and given the ſign, the Executioner being not ready, he lift up his head again, and with a ſoul-piercing accent ſaid to the Headſman, *Thou haſt done me a great deal of wrong, thus to diſturb and delay my bliſs*; and then ſubmitted it to the fatal ſtroke, and was received into glory.

A true Copy of the Speech of the Right Honourable James *Earl of* Derby, *upon the Scaffold at* Bolton *in* Lancashire, *together with his Deportment and Prayer before his death, on* Wednesday *the* 15. *day of* October, 1651.

THe Earl of *Derby* (according to the order of the *Court-Marshal* held at *Chester*, by which he was sentenced to die at *Bolton* in *Lancashire*) was brought to that Town with a Guard of Horse & Foot of Col. *Jones's*, commanded by one *Southley*, who received his Order from Col. *Robert Duckenfield*, betwixt 12 and 1 of the clock on *Wednesday* the 15 of *October*, the people weeping, praying, and bewailing him all the way from the Prison at *Chester*, to the place of his death.

He was brought to a House in the Town near the Crosse, where the Scaffold was raised: and as he passed by, said, [*VENIO DOMINE*] *I am prepared to fulfil thy will, O my God: this Scaffold must be my Cross: Blessed Saviour, I take it up willingly, and follow thee.*] From thence going into a Chamber with some Friends and

and ſervants, he was adverti ſed by the Commander in Chief, that he had till three a clock allowed him to prepare for death, for indeed the Scaffold was not ready: the people of the Town & Country generally refuſing to carry ſo much as a plank, or ſtrike a nail, or to lend any aſſiſtance to that work, their cry being generally in the ſtreets: *O ſad day, O woful day! ſhall the good Earl of* Derby *die here?* Many ſad loſſes have we had in this War, but none like unto this; for now the Ancient Honour of our Country muſt ſuffer here: And to add to his trouble, moſt of the Timber that built the Scaffold, was of the ruines of *Latham*-Houſe; but nothing could alter his Lordſhips reſolution and courage: for with a ſtedfaſt compoſed countenancy, and a chearful, he called the company which were preſent to prayers with him, wherein he ſhewed admirable fervence, and a kind of humble importunity with Almighty God, that he would pardon his ſins, be merciful to his Soul; and be gracious to this Land, in reſtoring the *King*, *Laws* and *Liberty*; and that he would be a *Husband* to his *Wife*, a *Father* to his *Children*, and a *Friend* to all thoſe that

ſuffered by his *Leſſe*, or that had been Friends to him.

Riſing from prayer, he ſat down with a very pleaſant countenance; and aſſured the ſtanders by, that God had heard his prayers, which the bleſſed Spirit of God witneſſed unto him, in the preſent Comforts he now felt in his Soul. Then he entered into a diſcourſe of his life, and beſeecht God to forgive him the dayes and time he had miſ-pent; and ſaid, it was his Comfort, that although he had not walked ſo circumſpectly as he ought to have done, yet he ever had a ſenſe of his ſins, and a tender reſpect to all the Services, Servants and Ordinances of his God; and that he knew God had mercy for him, that he had ſtrengthened and comforted him againſt all the terrours of death.

After theſe, and ſome other words to this purpoſe, he deſired his Friends and the people by to pray with him again; which when he had ended, riſing from his knees, he appeared fully ſatisfied of a gracious return to his prayers, and never after ſhewed any ſadneſs in his countenance.

His next buſineſs was with his *Son* the Lord *Strange*, whom he publiquely charged

ged to be *dutiful* to his ſad *Mother*, *affectionate* to his diſtreſſed *Brothers* and *Siſters*, and *ſtudious* of the Peace of his *Country*: *But eſpecially* (ſaid he) *Son, I charge you upon my bleſſing, and upon the Bleſſings you expect from God, to be ever dutiful to your diſtreſſed Mother, ever obedient to her Commands, and ever tender how you in any thing grieve or offend her: She is a Perſon well known to the moſt eminent Perſonages of* England, France, Germany *and* Holland, *noted for Piety, Prudence, and all Honourable Vertues; and certainly the more you are obedient to here the more you will encreaſe in favour with God and Man.*

Then deſired to be private in the room himſelf; where he was obſerved to be about half an hour upon his knees with frequent interjections of groans and ſighs before his God. Then when he called the company in again, his eyes witneſſed to us, that he had abundantly mixed *Tears* with his *Prayers*; he told us that he was very willing to leave the World, bering aſſured by the Teſtimony of Gods Spiit, that he ſhould be carried from Troube, to Reſt and Peace, from Sorrow to Joy, from Life to Death, and that Death

had no other bitterneſs in it to him, but that it took him from his dear Wife and Children; whom he *humbly* commended to the Protection and Providence of a better *Husband*, and a better *Father*; and that he did not doubt, but that the General, and they who ſat in the Seat of Authority, would make proviſion for them; hoping that his death might ſatisfie all thoſe who ſought his life, whom he freely forgave, and deſired God to do the like. Then calling for his Son, he took his leave of him, and bleſſed him; which indeed would have grieved any ones heart (though never ſo hardened) to ſee the parting of him now with his Son, and with his two Daughters, the Lady *Katherine*, and the Lady *Amely Stanley*, upon the Road betwixt *Cheſter* and *Bolton* the day before.

This ended, he called the Officer, and told him he was ready. In his way to the Scaffold, the people prayed, and wept, and cryed aloud; to whom his Lordſhip with a chearful countenance, and courteous humbleneſs ſaid, *Good people, I thank you, and I beſeech you ſtill pray for me, and our bleſſed God return your prayers back into your own boſomes: The God of*

of Mercies bleſſe you, the Son of God eſtabliſh you in righteouſneſſe, and the Holy Ghoſt fill you with all comforts. —— Coming near the Scaffold, he looked up and ſaid, *God I thank thee, I am not afraid to go up here, though I am to dye there; there are but theſe few ſteps to my Eternity:* Then kiſſing the Ladder, he went up and ſaluted the people: he walked a turn or two upon the Scaffold then went to the Eaſt-end of the Scaffold, and pulled off his Hat again and ſaluted the people with a chearful countenance, ſaid —— *I am come by the will of my heavenly Father to dye in this place; and I thank God I do with all willingneſſe and readineſſe ſubmit to his moſt bleſſed will.*

'Tis a place I deſired to ſee when I was laſt in the Country, both for the mutual Obligations that have been betwixt this Town and my Family, as alſo for your particular reſpects to me, whom I have underſtood to be ready to clear me from that foul imputation, That I was a man of blood; and that particularly, I killed one *Bootle* here in cold blood: I doubt not but there are here many men preſent, both that day this Town was

taken, and divers other times during this War, that can justifie I preserv'd many lives, but I know there is not any *one present*, that can lay the *blood* of any *man* whatsoever to *my charge*, unless what might casually happen in the fury and heat of a Battel; and why I die in this Town, I know not, unless it be to perswade the *Nation* that I fall as a Sacrifice for that blood, which some said I shed here, from which I am acquitted before you, and from which I had also cleared my self before my *Grand Judge* at *Westminster*, had they pleased to hear me, before they had destroyed me; that Report being hastily brought up among them, by some that I hope God hath forgiven, and too readily drunk in by others, whom I pray God to forgive. As for my Crime (as some are pleased to term it) which was objected against me by the *Council of War* (for *Bootle's* death, was never mentioned against me there, that being only secretly used to raise a prejudice against me in the judgements of such as did not know me) my Crime (I say) though I hope it deserves a far better Name, was, That I came into my own Country with my own lawful King;

I came in obedience to his Majesties call whom both by the Lawes of God, and the Lawes of this Land, I conceived my self obliged to obey; and according to the *Protestation* I took in Parliament in the time of that blessed Prince his Father; so, if it be my Crime, I here confess it again before *God*, *Angels*, and *Men*, *That I love Monarchy as the best Government*, and I die with Love and Honour: and for the Love and Honour I bear to my *Master* that now is, *Charles* the Second of that Name, *whom I my self in this Country proclaimed King*; the Lord bless and preserve him, and encline the hearts of those that have power in this *Nation*, to accept him to his Fathers Throne with Honour and Peace, for certainly, as I believe, this *Nation* will never be well contented, never throughly happy without a King; so I believe also, that King *Charles* the Second, our now lawfull King, were he a stranger to this Crown, were the most fit, and most accomplisht Prince that this day lives, to take the Government of this People; his admirable Piety, Vertue, Justice, great Valour and Discretion, far above so few years, doth now make him in all places he comes high-

ly beloved, and will hereafter make him honourable among all *Nations*: and I wish the people of this *Nation* so much happiness (when my eyes are closed) that he may peaceably be receiv'd to the enjoyment of his just Right, and then they shall never want their just Rights, which till then, they will alwayes want.

As for my being in Arms in the beginning of this War, I profess here in the presence of my God, before whom in a few minutes I must make an account for this profession, I only fought for peace, & setling the late King my Master in his just Rights, and the maintenance of the laws of this Land, and that I had no other design, intent or purpose for my then taking up Arms: and for this last engagement. I profess here again in the presence of the same God, that I did it for the restoring of my lawful Sovereign into that Throne, out of which his Father was most unchristianly & barbarously taken, by the most unjust sentence of a pretended *Court of Justice*, and himself against Law & all Justice kept out and dispossest of; and this was all my reason. For as for estate and quality, I wanted not a sufficient competency, neither was I ever ambitious to enlarge either: for by

by the favor of my Kings Predeceſſors, my family was raiſed to a condition well known in this Countrey; and now it is as well known, that by his enemies I am adjudged to die, and that by *new and monſtrous Laws*, as making me an enemy to my Country; as fighting for my Country, as a Traitor to the Laws, for endeavouring to preſerve Lawes: But, *Oh! God give me grace to conſider him who ſuffered ſuch contradictions of ſinners, and O my God, aſſert the King to his Fathers Throne, aſſert the Laws to their former honour, and reſtore thy own Religion in its purity, that all theſe ſhadows and falſe pretences of Religion may vaniſh away, and our childrens poſterities may ſerve thee in Spirit and in Truth.*

Good friends, I die for the * *King*, the *Laws* of the land, and the Proteſtant Religion maintained in the Church of *England*, all which as I was ready to maintain with my life, ſo I cheerfully ſuffer for them; in this welcome death.

* *At which words* King *and* Laws, *a Trooper ſaid aloud, we will neither have King, Lord, nor Laws; and upon a ſudden the ſouldiers being either ſurprized with fear at a ſtrange noiſe that was heard, or elſe falling into mutiny, preſently fell into a tumult, riding up and down the ſtreets, cutting and ſlaſhing the people, ſome being killed and many*

many wounded; his Lordſhip looking upon this ſad ſpectacle, ſaid thus, Gentlemen it troubles me more then my own death, that others are hurt, and (I fear) die for me; I beſeech you ſtay your hands, I flie not, you purſue not me, and here are none to purſue you. But being interrupted in his ſpeech, and not permitted to go on further, (for which the Officers were much troubled) he turn'd aſide to his ſervant, and gave him the Speech into his hand, ſaying, I will ſpeak to my God who I know will hear me, and when I am dead, let the world know what I would have ſaid. Here his Lordſhip was interrupted; but it was as follows, in his own copy under his own hand.

I am ſentenced to death by a Council of War, after quarter for life, and aſſurance for honourable and ſafe uſage by Captain *Edge*. I had reaſon to have expected the *Council* would have juſtified my *Plea*, which hath been *Ancient*, *Honourable*, *Sacred* and *Unviolable*, until this time that I am made the firſt ſuffering Precedent; for I dare affirm it, that never Gentleman before in any *Chriſtian* Nation was adjudged to death by a Council of War after quarter given; I am the firſt, and I pray God I may be the laſt Precedent in this caſe: I muſt die, and I thank God I am ready for it; Death would now be my choice, had I the whole world in competition with it. I leave nothing behind me which I much

care.

care for, but my King, my Wife, my Children, my Friends, whom I truſt (the never-failing mercies of my God will provide for: I beſeech God ſhew mercy to thoſe, who neither had mercy nor juſtice for me: My bleſſed Saviour taught him by his example and command, both to pray for my enemies, and to forgive my enemies: I forgive them freely, even thoſe that contrived my ruine, and purſued to death; I thank God never perſonally offended them to my knowledge in my life, and let me not offend againſt them at my death; I forgive them freely, and pray God for Chriſts ſake to forgive them alſo.

Of my Faith and Religion, I ſhall not (hope) need to ſay much, herein I hope my enemies (if now I have any) will ſpeak for me. I profeſs my faith to be in God onely, from whom I look for my ſalvation through the precious merits and ſufferings of my bleſſed Saviour, Jeſus Chriſt which merits and ſufferings are applied to my ſoul, by the bleſſed ſpirit of comfort, the Spirit of God, by whom I am aſſured in my own Soul, that my God is reconciled unto me in Jeſus Chriſt my bleſſed Redeemer.

I die a dutiful ſon the Church of *England*

gland, as it was eſtabliſhed in that bleſſed Prince my late Maſters Reign, which all my of learning and temperance will acknowledge to be the moſt pure, and agreable to the Word of God, and primitive Government of any *Church* within 12. or 1300. years ſince *Chriſt*, and which (to my great comfort) I left eſtabliſhed in the *Iſle of Man*; God preſerve it there, and reſtore it to this Nation.

And O bleſſed God; I magnifie thy Name, that thou gaveſt me the happineſſe and mercy to be born in a *Chriſtian* Nation, and in a Nation where thy truth was profeſſed in purity: With honour to thy Name, and comfort to thy people, I aſcribe the comforts of the Holy Spirit which I feel in my boſome, to the Miniſtry of thy Word and Sacraments conveyed unto me in thy *Church*, and made effectual by the operation of the ſame bleſſed Spirit. In this faith, good people, I have lived, and in this I die: pray for me, I beſeech you, and the God of mercies hear your prayers and my prayers, for mine and your ſalvation.

Preſently after the tumult was over, his Lordſhip called for the Headſman, and asked

Here his Lordſhip began to ſpeak again.

to

to ſee the Axe, and taking it in his hand, ſaid, *Friend, I will not hurt it, and I am ſure it cannot hurt me*; and then kiſſing it, ſaid, *Methinks this is as a Wedding Ring, which is as a ſign I am to leave all the World, and eternally to be married to my Saviour.* Then putting his hand in his pocket, ſaid to the Headſman, *Here Friend, take theſe two pieces, all that I have, thou muſt be my Prieſt, I pray thee do thy work well and effectually*; Then handling the rough furr'd coat the Headſman had on, *This* (ſays he) *will be troubleſome to thee*; *I pray thee put it off, and do it as willingly as I put off this garment of my fleſh, that is now ſo heavy for my ſoul*; then ſome of the ſtanders by bid the Headſ-man kneel, and ask his Lordſhip pardon; but he did not, but was ſurly and crabbed: but his Lordſhip ſaid, *Friend, I give thee the pardon thou wilt not ask, and God forgive thee alſo*: Then turning up his eyes to heaven, ſaid aloud, *How long Lord? how long?* then gently paſſing over the Scaffold, and ſeeing one of his Chaplains on horſeback among the people, *Good Sir* (ſaid he) *pray for me, and the Lord return your prayers into your own boſome, and I pray re-*

remember me kindly to your Brother, and God remember him for his love to me and mine.

Then turning towards his *Coffin*, *Thou art* (ſaid he) *my bridal Chamber, in thee I ſhall reſt without a guard, and ſleep without ſouldiers.*

Then looking towards the block, he asked if all were ready, *That* (ſaid he) *methinks is very low, and yet there is but one ſtep betwixt that and heaven*; then turning his eyes to the people he ſaluted them, and deſired again their prayers; then ſaid, *I ſee your tears, and hear your ſighs and groans, and prayers: the God of heaven hear and grant your ſupplications for me, and mine for you, and the Mediation of Chriſt Jeſus for us all.*

Here his Lordſhip cauſed the block to be turned, that he might look upon the Church, ſaying, *Whilſt I am here, I will look towards thy holy Sanctuary, and I know that within a few minutes, I ſhall behold thee my God and King in thy Sanctuary above, under the ſhadow of thy wings ſhall be my reſt till this calamity be overpaſt*; then he pulled off his *blew* garter, and ſent it to his Son, and pulling off his doublet, with a very religious chearfulneſs,

neſs, he ſaid, *I come, Lord Jeſus, and O come thou quickly, that I may be with thee for ever*: upon this he ſaid, *Pray tell me how muſt I lie, I have been called a bloody man, yet truly I never yet had that ſevere curioſitie to ſee any put to death in peace*; then laying himſelf down on the block, after a few minutes he roſe again, and cauſed the block to be a little removed; then ſaid to the Headſman, *Friend, remember what I ſaid to thee: and be no more afraid to ſtrike then* I *to die*; and *when I put up my hand, do thy work*; ſo looking round about his friends and the people, he ſaid, *The Lord bleſſe you all, and once more pray for me and with me*; at which words he kneeled down, and prayed privately within himſelf, with great ſighings, about half a quarter of an hour, concluding with the Lords Prayer, then riſing up again, he ſaid, (ſmilingly) *My ſoul is now at reſt, and ſo ſhall my body be immediately. The Lord bleſs my King, and reſtore him to his right in this Kingdom, and the Lord bleſs this Kingdom, and reſtore them to their rights in their King, that he and they may joyn hand in hand to ſettle truth and peace; and the Lord bleſs this County, and this Town,*

and

and this People. The Lord comfort my ſad wife and children, and reward all my friends with peace and happineſſe, both here and hereafter; and the Lord forgive them who were the cauſe and authors of this my ſad end and unjuſt death, for ſo it is as to mankind; though before God I deſerve much worſe, but I hope my ſins are all bathed in the blood of Jeſus Chriſt. So laying his neck upon the block, and his armes ſtretcht out, he ſaid theſe words.

Bleſſed be Gods glorious Name for ever and ever. Let the whole Earth be filled with his glory. Amen, Amen.

At which words, he gave the Headſman the ſign; but he either not obſerving it, or not being ready, ſtayed too long, ſo that his Lordſhip roſe up again, ſaying, Why do you keep me from my Saviour? what have I done that I die not, and that I may live with him? Once more I will lay my ſelf down in peace, and ſo take my everlaſting reſt. Then ſaying, *Come Lord Jeſus, come quickly*, he ſtretched out his arms, and gave the ſign, repeating the ſame words:

Bleſſed

Bleſſed be Gods glorious Name for ever and ever. Let the whole earth be filled with his glory. Amen, Amen.

Then lifting up his hand, the Executioner did his work at one blow, all the people weeping and crying, and giving all expreſſions of grief and lamentation.

When the corps were carried off the Scaffold, they carried them to a houſe in the Town, where was thrown into his Coffin in a piece of paper theſe two lines.

Upon *James*, Earl of *Derby*.

Bounty, Wit, Courage, all (here) in one lie dead.
A Stanleys *hand*, Veres *heart*, *and* Cecil's *head.*

The ſentence of the Council of VVar.

Reſolved by the Court upon the Queſtion, That *James* Earl of *Derby* is guilty of the breach of the Act of the 12. of *Auguſt* 1651. laſt paſt, entituled, *An Act prohibiting*

bibiting correſpondence with Charles Stuart *or his party*, and ſo of High-Treaſon againſt the Common-wealth of *England*, and is therefore worthy of death.

Reſolved by the Court.

That the ſaid *James* Earl of *Derby*, is a traytor to the Common-wealth of *England*, and an abettor, encourager and aſſiſter of the declared Traytors and enemies thereof, and ſhall be put to death by ſevering his head from his body, at the Market place in the Town of *Bolton* in *Lancaſhire*, upon *Wedneſday* the 15. day of this inſtant *October*, about the houre of one of the Clock the ſame day.

Sir

Sir Timothy Feverſton Haugh, *beheaded at Cheſter, Octob.* 22. 1651.

HAving nothing but the Hiſtory of the War for my direction to this Gentlemans memory, I will confine my ſelf within the compaſs of that diſcovery, and venture not to derive him any further, hoping his honourable Relations, will for their own, as well as his ſake be pleaſed to vouchſafe a full and perfect account of him hereafter to the embalming his fame to Poſterity.

He was engaged in the unhappy Defeat at *Wiggan* with theafore ſaid noble Earl, to whoſe aſſiſtance, whether he came with the King, and was left by him there with thoſe ſmall Forces could be ſpared, or that he voluntarily joyned, or came from the *Iſle* of *Man* with that Party I cannot determine; this is for certain, he was taken priſoner at that unlucky overthrow in *Lancaſhire*, and ſecured afterwards till the Grand Buſineſs was over at *Worceſter*.

Upon

Upon the coming back of the Forces aſſigned to *Cheſhire* for their ſtationary Quarters, and the bringing of the Earl of *Derby* thither, they were both impriſoned at *Cheſter*: and after the Trial and Condemnation of the Earl of *Derby*, was likewiſe brought before the ſaid *Court-Martial*; and as no better was, or could be expected by him or any other perſon, had likewiſe the ſaid Sentence, only differing in time and place.

He behaved himſelf at his Death courageouſly and Chriſtianly; telling thoſe Monſters of men the foulneſs of their faults: and confidently averring, that the Juſtice of God would at laſt overtake them, if they timely returned not to their duty; and after ſome few prayers, and among them one for the Kings preſervation, which yet was in doubt, he reſigned his Soul to God, and hath added one to the glorious Company of *Martyrs*.

Colonel

Colonel Benbow *ſhot to death at* Shrewsbury, *Octob.* 1651.

I Muſt confeſs my ſelf at a loſſe here but though I could receive nothing elſe but his Name; yet to that there is ſo much due on this account of *Martyrdome* that I durſt not omit him, putting hereby an occaſion into the hands of this Gentlemans Relations, to reſcue his, and perpetuate their Name to after Ages.

I conceive him to be one of thoſe loyal Gentlemen, who came in with the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, then Lord *Talbot*, or Colonel *Howard*, my Lord *Howard* of *Eſericks* Son to the King at *Worceſter*; and, who for his former Services done the King in the War before, was obnoxious to their malice.

Moſt certain it was, he was taken notice of, and obſerved to be very active in that Engagement at *Worceſter*, in the flight from whence he was taken, though moſt of the other Engliſh eſcaped by the favour and concealment of the Country; (nor did ever the *Scots* finde civiller uſage after a Defeat) ſave thoſe who throuh

through their glorious valour fell, and escaped the better way to Heaven.

After he was taken he was conveigh-to *Shrewsbury*, a place which the King from *Worceſter* had ſummoned by a Letter to Colonel *Mackworth* the Governour, which Royal Command they thought fit to queſtion with loyal Blood: as they pretended to expiate the ſtorming of *Bolton* by Prince *Rupert* with the murder of the Earl of *Derby*.

Whatever the reaſons of their proceedings there againſt him might be, I cannot aſcertain; thus much from all hands we have, that he went not leſſe in his death then in his life, maintaining his *Religion* to God, his Duty to the King, and his Innocency to the World, to the laſt minute of his breath: which found ſeveral wayes to expire by their Bullets, and to aſcend with his Soul to Heaven with a *Quinque Domine*, &c.

Colonel

Colonel John Gerhard, *and Mr.* Vowel, *the one beheaded at* Tower-hill, *and the other hanged at* Charing-Croſſe, *July* 10. 1654.

OLiver *Cromwel*, that Monſter of Engliſh production, had but newly invaded the Magiſtracy over theſe *Nations*, when, as the *Hydra* before him had done; he commenced his Tyrannical Regiment with a Sacrifice of Loyal blood, which all along cemented the frame of his five yeares Uſurpation, as the Walls of *Babylon* were ſaid to be mortar'd.

A curſed Rule it was among thoſe *State-Innovators*, that there was no ſurer way of eſtabliſhing their Tyrannie, and bring their Models to any ſound conſtituon, but by profuſely letting blood, eſpecially in the Pluriſie of ſo many dangers, which their evil and abominable actions did daily threaten them.

This they termed *Preventional Cure*; for ſuſpecting all hands to be about their eares, they reſolved to be beforehand with ſome: that the terror of the Example, being contrary to all reaſon, Juſtice and Law, and a perfect avowing of their Ty-

ranny, might reach to every man, that who with the ſenſe of ſo apparent danger and deſtruction out of which, once engaged, there was no reſcue or deliverance but by death, might be ſtupified into a degenerous fear, and abject ſervility of mind, to endure whatever their inſupportable Domination ſhould load upon them.

To this purpoſe His Engines were emptied at once upon all ſorts of men, though finding it impoſſible to engage or ſet any of the Nobility who had a ſmall taſt of what uſage they might expect by the Death of 4 eminent Lords: they at laſt confined themſelves to the middle rank of the people, Gentry and Citizens, and of thoſe, not the puny and weak, but the reſolute, learned and couragious, whoſe blood being of price and value might be of ſome reliſh to them, howſoever bitter and abominable ſoever to all the World beſides, being the thing they intended.

A *High Court of Juſtice* is therefore erected by the novel Authority of a Protector, and to keep even pace, with the ſetting of it up, divers perſons are apprehended and Committed; amongſt

others

others this Noble Gentleman, Colonel *John Gerhard*, his Brother *Mr. Charles Gerhard*, Brothers to the Honourable Sir *Gilbert Gerhard*; Mr. *Vowel* a Schoolmaſter of the Free-School at *Iſlington*, Mr. *Somerſet Fox*, and others; theſe were brought before that Bar of the *High Court*, where bloody *Liſle* was then *Preſident*.

Their Crime was an offence counted in one of thoſe forty two Articles of the *Inſtrument of Government*, which *Oliver* ſwore to at *Weſtminſter-Hall* at his firſt ſeizure of the Government, being a deſign againſt the Life of that Uſurper. This was feizible to the belief of all men, for few there were that owed him not that kindneſſe, and therefore the colour of Truth was enough, and onely requiſite to blanch out the deformities and odiouſneſſe of the illegall proceedings and other barbarous dreſſe of miſchief and villany.

But theſe Gentlemen were no way concerned in any ſuch deſign, ſave only as they were prompted, and had ſome tranſient ſuggeſtions which they never entertained by ſome trapanning words to that purpoſe, which had their danger not re-

called to their memory, had been utterly forgot by them, though made records against them by those who were hired deeply to swear against them, what they had by the by, but whispered to them. See more in Mr. *Gerhards* Speech.

But to strengthen and second this Device, and to fix their plot upon them, they do not onely relye on their Witnesses for evidence, but with promise of life and pardon to one of the pretended Complices in the businesse, they undermine his integrity, and blow up the lives of the other. They tell him they can sufficiently prove it, and that the onely way to save himself is by a free Confession and desiring the clemency of the Court; thereupon Mr. *Somerset Fox* acknowledgeth the pretended Crime, and referred himself to them for mercy, and Mr. *Gerhard* the younger, being not above the age of nineteen yeares gives some such like Testimony against his own Brother, being not of that mature resolution to withstand the fear of Death, which menaced himself; whereupon this Noble Colonel was condemned by the said pretended Court for Treason in conspiring the death of *Cromwel*, which

he undauntedly (having made a very excellent Defence against the supposed Fact, and at last denyed their Authority) and very chearfully received.

Mr. *Vowel* was the next, against whom they had suborned a blind Minister, one that had been fed and sustained by the charity of this *Martyr*. The frequent converse this man used with him, gave *Cromwel's* Spies a fit opportunitie of effecting their projected Design upon him; for seeing the indigence and necessity of that blind, wretched man, they forthwith closed with him, and with great promises of Pensions and such like proditory Reward, drew the unwary man into the guilt of a most shamefull Treachery.

For having sounded the mind of his Benefactor and good Friend in reference to the Fines, and particularly about the *Protectors* Usurpation, by which the *Commonwealth* being now reduced to a kind of Monarchical Government, and the people discerning thereby the Cheats put upon them by the Reformation; it was not to be doubted, but if the Tyrant were removed, or otherwayes laid aside, the Royal interest would be glad-

dy embraced, and without any difficulty reaſſumed to its Authority; he caught hold of ſome words by way of diſcourſe, which as the judgement and inclination of Mr. *Vowel* led him, were ſomething to the purpoſe of their Deſign.

Theſe words were preſently taken hold of, and upon this blind mans Examinations more enlarged, with ſeveral Circumſtances inſerted, which their Inſtruments had furniſhed them with out of their ſtrict watch and obſervation of all his Company, Wayes and Actions, which at his Trial were inſtanced, and the Examinations produced to prove them.

At the recitals whereof, the blind man, whether prickt in conſcience for his deteſtible ingratitude, or ſome preſent courage infuſed into him for to evidence the oppreſſed innocence of the priſoner at Bar, who had a ſad and numerous Family at home, denyed and diſowned the ſad Examination, and the words or Narrative therein ſet down to be his, but that he was abuſed thereby, and ſo perſiſted, to the great confuſion and puzzle of the Court, till ſuch time as *Frontleſſe Liſle* averred it was his voluntary

tary Act, and that it appeared he had been ſince tampered withal, and that the Court would take no notice of ſuch prevarication.

So this proceeded to Sentence againſt him, which was, that for his Treaſon, &c. he ſhould be hanged, and ſo was removed to priſon again.

On the 10th. day of *July*, 1654. Colonel *Gerhard* was brought to the Scaffold on *Tower-hill*, where immediately after *Don Pantaleon Sa* the *Portugal* Embaſſadours Brother (for a Riot committed at the new *Exchange* in *London*, where this unfortunate Gentleman valiantly oppoſed him, and his aſſiſtance to the hazard of his life) was executed. They both agreed in this fatal determination of their lives, though not in the manner of parting with them, the *Portugal* with ſome kind of reluctancy; this with the braveſt and moſt Chriſtian willingneſſe imaginable, which he manifeſted in his dying geſture and words, ſubjoyned hereunto,

Mr. *Vowel*, on the 10th. day of *July* was likewiſe brought to *Charing-Croſſe*, where he was readier for his death then that for him; the Gibbet being not fixed

he was conveighed to the *Charing-croſs Tavern*, where he like a true Chriſtian Souldier behaved himſelf, (having before prepared himſelf for his departure) freely diſcourſing of the Kings indubitable and unconquerable Right to his Crownes; and that though for a time it might be ſuppreſſed, yet moſt certainly God in his righteous Judgement would not long delay his vindication to the Mind and confuſion of his rebellious Enemies; and that they could take no ſpeedier courſe to bring it down upon their heads then by murthering his Subjects; and that though it were a ſad infliction on him in regard of his diſtreſſed Family, yet he doubted not but it would prove to his everlaſting glory, and a better ſupport of his Relations then he could provide for them. [And I hope his words with the latter part thereof be as happily verified as in the former]

Being called again to his Execution, he took leave of a number of people, who preſſed in to comfort him, and to pray God to ſtrengthen him; whom with like gracious and Chriſtian expreſſions he chearfully thanked. At the Gibbet there was no Ladder ſet, not any for that purpoſe

poſe brought: ſo retrograde and averſe had Providence diſpoſed of things to the moſt abominable murther, as if it had indignitated its deteſtation thereof; nor could any be procured from the Neighbours thereabouts, or any other place, all men denying to be the leaſt acceſſary to that infamous buſineſs; thereupon a Joyn-ſtoo was fought from the *Mews*, and upon that he was put; that by how many degrees he was nearer the Earth at his fall, by ſo many degres he might be higher in glory in Heaven at his aſcending, by an equal parallel.

Having devoutly prayed for himſelf, the King, Church and Kingdom, and for the conſummation of this life into bliſs, he addreſt ſome few words to the people (which were too harſh for the eares of the Souldiers, to whom they were principally directed) but was ſoon ſilenced, and not ſuffered to ſpeak out the remainder. Then after a ſhort permiſſion of ſome few *Ejaculations* wherewith he recommended his departing Soul to God, the ſtool was drawn from under him, and ſo he quietly paſt hence to a glorious ſtate of Immortality.

Major *Henſhaw*, now Major of the City Regiment of Horſe, was ſaid to be

concerned in this buſineſs. Much diſcourſe there was then about him, but he timely withdrew himſelf beyond the Sea, and eſcaped that ſtorm that would have overwhelmed him, and now honourably ſurvives to reap the fruit and reconpence of thoſe Services he hath done his King and Country.

Nothing can better expreſs the noble gallantry and Chriſtian bravery of theſe two men, then what is left behinde of their own recorded by ſome of their worthy and intimate Friends, to whom I ſhould have rendred the obligation, if I could have had a perfect account from them, which ſo nearly concerns my deſign as it doth their deceaſed Friends, Memory and Honour. I do therefore willingly refer the Reader to what followes, extracted from ſuch Copies as are true and Authentique, where he may be more fully ſatisfied.

Th

The Speech and manner of putting to death Col. John Gerhard, *who was beheaded on* Tower-hil, *July* 10. 1654.

IT was thought needleſſe by the friends of Col. *Gerhard*, to declare any thing concerning his ſufferings unto the World, more then in their ſight, had not the ſacrilegious malice of the laſt weekly Pamphlet thrown ſome ſtains upon his name, and ſo incenſed them to a vindication as pious as his death was. 'Tis moſt certain, that there can no blots ſtick upon true honour, which ſuch weak fellows endeavour againſt it: Theſe are curſed beaſts, but their horns are ſhort; ſepulchral dogs! that ſcrape up graves, and violate the dead, and are fierce and ravenous, but yet dogs ſtill. And all worthy people will call their railing, praiſe, and what they intend a barking infamy the greateſt merit. Yet becauſe every underſtanding is not of the ſame brightneſs, and thoſe putrid libels may by ill chance fall into ſome innocent hand hereafter (and yet ſure ſuch vermine ſhould not be endured long) therefore let wiſe and good men pardon him that hath undertaken this juſtice for that Gentleman,

man, and be pleased to read this sad story, not for their satisfaction sake, but their sorrows: It may dry up a friendly tear perhaps, and still a murmuring groan to see the comely posture of his passion, how well all was carried by him, and how honourably, and the honest circumstances may not improbably take off from the sadnesse: Why should I grieve that death which had such a living glory in it? Or dishonour that blood with feeble tears, which was shed so like the holy Martyrs? All that knew this person cannot but witnesse his generous resolution, and whether his great courage fell lesse then it self (as that viper hisseth) or did not rather rise greater now, when the Christian was twisted with the Gentlemen, let this faithful relation witness. In which, though all terms and syllables may not be exactly the same, yet if there be a material falshood, or a wilfull flattery, may his neck that wrote it feel a viler destiny then axes or halters. *Amicus* Gerardus, *sed magis amica veritas.*

From the first day of his imprisonment he foresaw the heavy sentence hovering upon him, and therefore gave all diligence to secure himself against it; that how-

however he underwent a temporal condemnation, he might escape an eternal. But after that sad doom was pronounced then he bestirred himself amain, and made double haste for heaven, it was for his life, and therefore he would loose no minute, but the same night gave directions to a dear friend for a Minister (whom he knew to have long honoured his family) to be brought unto him early next morning; and it pleased Authority to gratifie him in this great desire, so that an order was sent freely for the quiet admission of any such person to him. With this spiritual friend he spent some hours every day in prayer, and other ghostly refreshments, which (God be praised) were not without sweet effect and impressions upon his soul. There were some other Ministers of great observation for gravity and godlinesse, who visited him, and who I am confident will put their seal to this truth with me, that they found him meek, humble, modest, penitent, comforted, not far from the Kingdom of God, if not already in it: but I have good hope he was in possession, and so had he, through grace. Upon the morning (which was the last he must see till that

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of the Reſurrection) he ſubmitted to ſome wholſome orders of the Church, and received her comforts by them. That done, he proceeded to the (higheſt enjoyment of grace that can be adminiſtred upon earth) the holy Communion, whereof with his brother Sir *Gilbert Gerhard* he was a partaker, with as much reverence, zeal, thankfulneſſe, holy ſorrows, and holy joys, as a devout ſoul could evidence. He wept as if he would have waſhed his Saviours wounds, which his faith preſented in his tears; and yet he ſaid he was admirably raviſhed with all inward peace and comfort in his own conſcience. This paſſed, he had now nothing to do but to die, which he expected that morning very ſpeedily; But by the pleaſure of Authority, both the time and the place of his execution was altered, ſo that he was to wait a little longer, untill evening for his releaſe. Many friends and perſons of Honour came to take their laſt leave of him, who can gladly witneſs his undiſturbedneſſe and civill chearfulneſſe to every one of them. His brother tarryed continually with him; and though ſome eruptions of paſſion could not be reſtrain d now and then, where

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nature was so much concerned, yet they were generally pleasant, and at last parted (about half an hour before he was led forth to death) with as much calmnesse and placednesse, as if they had been to meet again anon safe and unhurt as they had done formerly. So have I seen a windy and stormy day concluding in stilnes and Sunshine, as if weary and desiring to rest without any breath of trouble, The Minister only waiting on him to the last; and about five a clock enters the Lieut. of the Tower, and the Sheriff of *London*: Two sure friends, that will not leave him as long as he hath life remaining in him: They told him a sowr message, that they were come to conduct him to his death's blow: He reply'd they were very welcome, and received them so fearlesse and untroubled, that the Sheriffe told the Minister, *He was sorry to see him so unfit for that condition*; but (under favour) he mistook his condition, That which he accounted fitnes to die, our Pamphlet-monger would have called flagging and cowardise. So a hard thing it is to satisfy all curiosities, even with our blood, and nothing more ingenious then to carry this bitter cup even, when so many mis-

con-

conſtructions ſhake it. At his lodging he deſired the Sheriffe that he would permit the Miniſter and three others that were his friends and ſervants to go upon the Scaffold with him, which as it was ſeaſonable wiſdome in him to deſire, ſo was it a fortunate kindneſſe from them that granted it, elſe it may be their teſtimony might have been wanting to his injured reputation. He took leave particularly on the Houſhold where he was as a priſoner, and was ſo clearly collected in every thing he did, that he went out of his way into the kitchin to bid his Lanlady farewell, giving thanks for her reſpects during his bonds, which he ſaid he ſhould die in to her. As he paſſed by the Guards in the Tower, he gave them mony twice, and told them; he ſhould trouble them no longer, being on his remove to better Guards. He walked along to the Scaffold on Tower-Hill, ſhewing a great deal both of humility and reſpect to the people, who generally lamented him, and prayed for him. As he went he was bare-headed for the moſt part, carrying his hat in his hand; and ſometimes reſting it in a careleſſe bravery on his left ſide. When he came

came to (or rather leap'd upon the Scaffold) for he was so far from flagging when to tread that Tragical stage, that many observed how sprightfully he seem'd to skip up the steps to it, as if he had gone to dance there rather then to die) his grim executioner presented himself to him, to whom with a chearfull smile he said, *Welcome honest friend*: And desiring to see his Ax, he took it into his hands, and kissing it, with a pretty glance of his eye (which was a natural lovelinesse in him) towards the Minister, he said, *This will do the deed I warrant it.* The Scaffold was very much crowded with people; yet as well as he could he made some turns to and fro upon it, with a paper (which he had taken out of his pocket) in his hand, wherein it seemes he had prepared some heads of a speech which he intended to have delivered: but the Sheriff and Lieutenant told him, if he spoke any thing it must be very brief, and that they must not suffer him to speak any thing that was seditious; *Well Gentlemen* (said he) *your will be done; but* (*God be praised*) *I never yet had to do with any thing that was seditious!* I *would fain have spoken something to clear my self to the world, according to the*

custom,

cuſtom, if it might have been, But come Sir, ſaith he, turning to the Miniſter, *Let you and I ſpeak to him that will give us leave*: and ſo kneeling down together in a corner of the ſtage, the Miniſter pray'd with him a ſhort time, which done they ſtood up again. Then turning himſelf to the people, and putting off his hat, he told them, *That he was not permitted to ſpeak a few words according to his intention, yet he doubted not but what he would have ſaid would come to their eyes, though it muſt not come to their ears: But this* I *deſire all to take notice of*, and this he ſpoke (with a double vehemence) *that* I *die a faithful ſubject and ſervant to King* Charles *the ſecond, whom* I *pray God to bleſs and reſtore to his rights; and had* I *ten thouſand thouſand lives*, I *would gladly lay them all down thus for his ſervice.* Here he was interrupted, and the Sheriff wiſhed him rather to confeſs what he knew concerning the horrid Plot he was condemned for: He anſwered, *That he had confeſſed all that he knew concerning any Plot, that he thought they knew more of the Plot that condemned him, then he did; but he heartily forgave them.* The Miniſter told him it was well done to forgive and pardon thoſe that perſecute us: That was

an act of true Christian love, but as his case stood, love was not enough; He ought to deal in this business (upon which his life lay) with all candour and sincerity, not concealing any thing of that nature as was charged against him, as far as he might glorifie God, and serve the publick good. Upon which lifting up his eyes towards heaven, and laying his hand upon his breast, *Oh Sir*, sayes he, *if there had been any such thing in this breast, would* I *not have revealed it before this time!* I *protest in the sight of Almighty God,* I *know no more of any such design, but only what* I *have often acknowledged, that it was motioned to me by* Major Henshaw, (*who* I *confidently believe is in their hands*) *and debated twice or thrice when* I *was with him: but* I *never entertained it at all, and at the last flatly disown'd it, and told him* I *would have nothing to do in it. He was many times pressing me to nominate what persons* I *knew* I *could bring, & to have their names; but let them shew any such thing if they can against me. But* I *am certain he is in their hands.* Pawsing here a little, and fetching a turn or two upon the Scaffold, being very hot (as he had been all that morning) he call'd for some small beer, which he had given

given order to be ready, and was brought thither in a ſtone bottle, of which he drank a little once or twice. Then the Miniſter went to him, and minded him that ſomething might be expected from him as to his Religion, and diſpoſition to dye. To which gathering up an extraordinary reſolution in his face) he replyed, *I dy a Chriſtian, a true Chriſtian, according to that Faith and Religion which was profeſſed by the Church of* England, *in the time of our late King of bleſſed memory. And I praiſe God I am ſo fitted and ready to dye, that I am confident by the merits of Chriſt Jeſus, that my ſins are pardoned, and my ſalvation is at hand.* Then turning about he called for his waſt-cote and cap, and throwing off his doublet, put them on, whilſt his ſervants helped to put up his hair. His waſt-coat was not very clean, which he took notice of to his man: *but 'tis no great matter ſaith he, if the heart be clean, all's well enough.* Being thus prepared, he calls for the Block: and viewing it (as with delight) laid himſelf down upon it to ſee how it would fit, and was ſo far from ſinking at the ſight of it, that he almoſt play'd with it: and riſing quickly pulls a little paper-book

out

out of his pocket, which he gave to the Miniſter, willing him to find that particular Prayer which was proper for that occaſion, but the crowd being great, he could not quickly find it, ſo that he kneeled down with the book open a while in his hand as if he had read; but quickly ſhut it, and prayed with great expreſſions of fervency by himſelf. When he had done, the Lieutenant ſaid ſomething to him (as it ſeems) concerning his Brother *Charles* that had witneſſed againſt him; I know not what the Lieutenant ſaid, (for he ſpake low) but Mr. *Gerhard* ſpake aloud, and replyed paſſionatly O *Chriſt Sir! I love my poor brother with all my heart, he is but a youth and was terrified, I know how he was dealt with; tell him I love him as well as ever I lov'd him in my life. And commend me to my brother Sir* Gilbert, *whoſe releaſe I beſeech you Sir to aſſiſt: there being no more cauſe, that I know of for impriſonment then only that he was found in the ſame bed with me, which ſure is no capital crime.* Having ſaid this, he took his leave of him and the Sheriff, and all he knew on the ſtage: and turning about once more to the people, deſired them to pray for him, himſelf kneeling

down with the Miniſter, laid his hand in his boſom, and they prayed together the laſt time. After this he bids them all farewell again, *and beſought them to remember they had a poor Soveraign abroad who deſerved to be remembred.* Then forgiving the Executioner and ſaluting the Miniſter with his laſt embrace and kiſſes, he bow'd himſelf to the ſtroak of death, with as much Chriſtian meekneſſe and noble courage mix'd together, as I beleive was ever ſeen in any that had bled upon that Altar. And this all the people that were Spectators, did ſeem tounderſtand and acknowledge: beholding his fatal blow with an univerſal ſadneſs and ſilence; whereas, when the other Gentleman fell quickly after upon another ſcore of blood and ryot, they gave a great and general ſhout, as applauding the Juſtice of the *Portugals* death; but pittying and bewailing the untimely fall of ſo brave and magnanimous a ſpirit as did (through all the clouds of death) ſhine glorioufly in this unfortunate Gentleman.

His

His Speech

Gentlemen,

AS this kind of ſpectacle is no new entertainment to your eyes, for you have had a late glut of ſuch objects: So is it no ſtrange thing to me to be made ſuch a ſpectacle; for I have been bred upon the Theatre of death, and have learned that part ſo well, though I confeſs a very hard one, as to perform it pretty handſomly, both as becomes a Gentleman and a Chriſtian.

Only I muſt deſire you to expect no fine Prologue, or Speech from me; I never ſtudied to make Orations: a very unfit man to lay plots againſt a State, who am ſcarce able to lay a few lines of plain Engliſh together, as I *ought: But though I cannot ſpeak happily; I doubt not but I ſhall die happily.*

I confeſſe my ſelf a great ſinner. Who is innocent? God be mercifull to me a miſerable ſinner. I adore the juſtice of God in all this that is come upon me: I have deſerved to die long ſince; and bleſſed be God who hath given me ſuch time to prepare. But for this Crime I ſtand condemned for to day, I

do

do proteſt mine own innocency, as to any conſent or ingagment to act in it.

I hope you will believe me, when you conſider upon what ſlender proofs and teſtimonies I ſuffer; none of them legal, or poſitive, but circumſtantial.

For my brother Charles; *Alas poor youth! how he was wrought upon! but I deſire all my friends to think honourably of him.*

For my Brother Sir Gilbert.

This imagination of a Plot is ſaid to be hatched in France, *but I fear the neſt was at* Whitehall.

As for the King, —— *ſo far from concurring to ſuch a Deed, that I am only unſatisfied in this, whether I ſhall dye right in his favour, becauſe ſuſpected of any thing ſo unworthy of him.*

I fear he loſt his Kingdom by ſuch practices, but whether he would recover them ſo, is a queſtion: God hath better ways when it ſhall be good in his ſight to plead his cauſe.

I was lately in France, *but on my own ſcore; for I have commanded there and probably might.*

For my paſt life it hath been but a troubleſome one, but now I hope I ſhall reſt! Since I was any thing, I have ſerved the King, as I was bound: And I wiſh all that did ſo, had

had done it as faithfully! He was condemned for a tyrant, but God——

For my Religion, though a Souldier, I am able to profess I am a Christian souldier, a true Son of the Church *of* England, *as constituted under Queen* Elizabeth, K. James, *and* K. Charles *of blessed memory. Her Doctrine and Government I embrace. Her Truth and Peace I pray God to restore.*

I humbly give thanks to God Almighty for providing me the comfort of a Minister, on whose fidelity I might repose my soul.

And I pray God to bless the poor faithfull Ministers of this Church, and give you hearts to esteem them, the want whereof is no small cause of our misery.

My dayes have been few and evil, yet God be blessed in all the vanities and folly of youth, I have been far from Atheism, or contempt of Gods worship: I had always awfull impressions of Gods honour and service, which is now my comfort.

And now dear Countrymen, fare you well, I pray God blesse you all, this whole Nation.

Alas poor England? *When will these black days be over! When will there be blood enough! I wish mine might fill up the measure, I forgive all.*

Once more fare you well, Commend me to all my friends, Pray for me.

I pray God make you as faithfull and loyal as I have lived, and as happy as I shall be by and by, when I am dead.

Come Lord Jesus, come quickly.

Father of mercies, have mercy on me!

Saviour of the world, save my soul.

O lamb of God, that takes away the sins of the world, hear my prayers.

Into thy hands O Lord I commend my spirit.

Lord Jesus receive my soul.

The last Speech of Mr. Peter Vowell, *which he intended to have delivered (had he been permitted) upon Munday the* 10th *of* July 1654. *(on which day he suffered death in the place where Charing Crosse stood) as from the Original paper written with his own hand appeareth.*

Gentlemen,

AT this earthly Bar from them that pretend to have a great measure of sanctity, I had hard measure: but to that Bar I am now going, the Bar of heaven

heaven, I ſhall have Juſtice, yea one day Juſtice againſt them, except they water their beds and couches with tears of Repentence.

The court gave ſevere and raſh Judgment on my body, and ſent a pitifull fellow (but a pitileſs fellow) that gave as raſh a Judgment of my ſoul; but that precious Jewel none of them could touch to hurt.

The ſouls under the Alter cry loud for vengeance long ago; how many more of late years have been added to them to help the cry? the cry is loud of thoſe lately whoſe blood hath been unlawfully ſpilt; but vengeance is Gods, and I will leave it to him.

The Court at my Tryal ſaid, I was confident, and held it as a fault; He alſo whom they ſent to the Tower (I know not if to intrap me) under pretence to comfort my ſoul, told me alſo, I was confident; I ſay the ſame: and the ſame confidence I bring with me now, and by Gods aſſiſtance, I hope I ſhall carry it out of this world with my innocency.

Gentlemen Souldiers, Among the ancient and ſavage ſort of Heathen, they

had a Law once every three, six, or twelve moneths to offer up a sacrifice of humane blood to their god; and that their god was a Devil: Among us, whether Heathen or not, you best know; of late years we have had a fatal custome, once in three, six or twelve moneths to make not only a sacrifice, but many sacrifices of humane Christian blood, our Scaffolds have reek'd and smoak'd with the choicest sort of blood. But unto what God do you judge? What God is he that delights in the blood of man? *Baal*, the god of *Ekron*, *Belzebub*, the god of Flyes.

Amongst the Primitive Christians that lived neareſt the time of our Saviour Christ, the greateſt Tyrants and perſecutors of the Christians lived; the perſecution was great, and yet the courage of thoſe perſecuted Christians was ſo great, that it excelled the fury of the perſecutors; that they came in faſter to be killed, then they could kill; they offered their bodies and throats ſo thick unto the ſlaughter, that the hands of Tyrants were weary with killing; and yet *Sanguis Martirum*, was *Semen Eccleſiæ*, and many Heathens came

came in with the Christians, seeing their chearfull constancy, turned Christians, and dyed Christians, and dyed with them; the Christians still encreased the more.

Of late years here hath been a great persecution in this Nation, and yet the sufferers have been so many, and present themselves so thick in the vindication of their King, Country, and Laws, that they startled the very enemy himself; their constancy so great, that the eyes of their Judges dropped tears, whether reall or true, let the Judge of Judges judge; They still stand amazed at their constancy, though they exceed the old Heathens; are not weary of killing.

Oh Souldiers! How many of you have been brought up, and led on by blind principles, wronged in your education, or seduced by your indiscreet, heedless and heady Teachers? How many of you young men have for some small discontent departed from your loving Masters, dear Friends, or tender Parents, and fled into the Army? how many of you driven by Tyranous oppression, poverty, or cruelty, have left your dear wives and Chil-

children? And ſome for novelty or wantonneſs adhere to this employment, not conſidering the great danger of ſpilling innocent blood.

How many of you have drawn your Swords, you do not know for what? How many of you keep drawn your Swords, you do not know for what? You have put to death a pious and juſt King, and in his ſtead have reared up, even another *Jeroboam*, that makes *Iſrael* to ſin: What his goodneſſe is, you beſt know: You have put down a good old Law, and reared up another of your own to judge the people by; my calling for the benefit of the former, and for the equity even of your own Law, I am in part condemned here to die. Be you Judge of the proceedings.

How many of you have had a hand in putting down the ancient true Church, and raiſed up in your own imaginations a new one? But alas! You know not what you do; if you did, you would grieve to ſee what a glorious Church you have ruind: You would never have pulled down the hedges, and broken down the fences, that the wild beaſts of the Forreſt ſhould come in

in, that the little foxes ſhould devour; and the wild Boar ſhould root out ſo ſtately a Vine.

When the *Jewes* were led into captivity; their goodly and magnificent Temple was burnt; but in proceſs of time, they obtained favour amongſt the Heathen KINGS they dwelt amongſt, and had liberty therewith to re-build: re-build they did, and finiſhed a ſecond Temple, at which ſight all the young men rejoyced to ſee ſo gallant a Temple, but the old men wept to ſee how far different and ſhort the ſecond Temple was from the glory of the firſt: So you young men rejoyce at your imaginary Church, but the old men methinks I ſee ſome weep, (Oh weep not for me) weep for your Country, weep to ſee Religion, Liberty and Laws taken from you, weep to ſee ſo many good men ſnatcht away; but indeed from the miſeries to come, and weep for what your unhappy ſelves will ſuffer.

Souldiers, however you flouriſh for a-time, and perhaps many of you may rejoyce at our deaths; but believe it, as *Sampſon* pull'd the houſe of the *Philiſtims*

down when he fell: ſo ſhall we give you and your Cauſe a greater blow by our deaths, than living we poſſibly could have done. You may for a time flouriſh, but remember what our Saviour ſaid, *All you that make uſe of the ſword, ſhall periſh by the ſword, you ſhall be cut down like the graſs, and wither away like the green herbs.*

But do you behold yonder glorious place? Do you behold the ſpangled Heavens, where the holy Angels dwell, where God himſelfe is rounded with Thrones, Principalities, Powers and the Celeſtial Spirits of juſt men, when the Trump ſhall blow, when the dead ſhall riſe at the dreadful day of Judgment: How will you anſwer all your Rapes and Murthers? Do you think your hands that have been bathed in the blood of your King, the blood of ſo many of your eminent Country-men ſo unjuſtly, that have been bathed in the blood of many of your friends, your kindred, perhaps your Parents, can ever reach yonder glorious place without repentance? Oh no! Repent now therefore, it is not

not too late, ſhake off your bloody *Protector*, reſcue your ancient Laws, and call in your Royal young Prince, whom you have long enough wronged; Make your Addreſſes to the great Protector of Heaven and Earth, as I now do my ſelf for a Pardon, for all your former and preſent tranſgreſſions.

I dye an obedient Son of the Church of *England*, and with a dutifull heart to the KING, and deſire that none preſent that love him, will be diſheartned by my death, but continue faithfull to the end.

And ſo farewell, I forgive all the world, *&c.*

Col.

Colonel Penrudock, *Colonel* Groves *and others, are taken at* Southmolton *in* Devonſhire *in their Quarters: ſome of them beheaded at* Exeter *and* Salisbury: *others hanged there, & at* Chard *in* Somerſetſhire, *May* 16. 1655.

THe reſtleſſe Feares and Diſturbances which attended the ambitious head of this bloody *Protector*; ſome drave him to the ſame facinenſious courſes and practices, upon the Lives and Eſtates of other Loyal and honeſt perſons, who by the like Artifices fell into his Clutches.

It was but juſt a year paſt ſince his butchery committed upon the two aforeſaid Gentlemen: and now the Axe is whetted again, againſt the lives of many more innocent perſons. He had called a Parliament by vertue of his Inſtrument in *September* 1654. This continued five lunary Months without any mutual ſatisfaction, or ſcarce entercourſe betwixt them and *Oliver*, therefore by the ſame Power he diſſolved them: at which time he gave them an account, that by their ſullenneſſe, and diſaffection to the ſettle-

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ment of the *Common-wealth* in *Him*, the *Common-Enemy*, meaning his Majesties Loyal Subjects, were hatching and raising new troubles, which he was well satisfied were fomented by some of them then present.

This was fair intimation for the Confederates to desist: but, believing this spoken by him out of a real fear of their Power; the Designe being universally laid, and that it was beyond his power to prevent it, and no doubt some countenance and foundation of this enterprize they also had from the Parliament, they resolved to proceed to the Execution thereof.

But *Oliver* had all along countermined them: for by intelligence he held with one *Maning* (whose Father was a Colonel in the Kings Army, and slain in the service at *Alesford* fight) then with the King at *Colen*, in the quality of one of his Majesties private Secretaries near servants, he understood the whole Cabal of that business, from the beginning to the end, and accordingly managed them whose Counsels were intended wholly against him, but as it proved were aymed at themselves.

Maning

Maning at last came to be discovered to the King, when his Friends in *England* were betrayed and undone, and the whole design frustrated, and was deservedly shot to Death at a Castle in the Duke of *Newburghs* Country. But this, as I said, was too late; for, the *Western* Association which was to be commanded by Sir *Joseph Wagstaffe*, according to the time agreed on, rose in part at *Salisbury*, at such time as the Judges were come thither in Circuit. Here appeared to the number of two or three hundred Horse, on Monday morning in *March*, where we having seized some of the Lawyers Horses, and taken away the Judges Commissions: they marched to *Blandford*, where Col. *Penruddock* proclaimed the King, and so on *Westward*: some leaving, but none joyning with them.

Cromwel had so ordered his business, that his Troops were ready in every quarter; but knowing that this rising would be the first and most general, gave them fair time and opportunity of Rendesvouzing, no more but onely two Troops under *Butler*, then upon their march thither from *Bristol*, being near thereabouts; but

but as ſoon as ever they were up, Forces were drawn together from ſeveral places to prevent their diſperſing and returning.

The Royaliſts having marched day and night, came at laſt wearied and tyred to *Southmolton* in *Devonſhire*, where they took up Quarters for that night, intending for *Cornwall*, where they expected an additional ſtrength, both from that County, and from Forreign parts there to be landed: But about ten a clock that night, Captain *Unton Crook*, with a Troop of Horſe entred the Town, and beſet the Innes and Houſes where they were quartered, and preſently fell a ſtorming of them. After ſome two houres ſharp Diſpute, where few were killed, they came to a Capitulation, which was, that they ſhould render themſelves priſoners, Captain *Crook* promiſing them quarter for life.

Colonel *Penruddock*, and Col. *Groves* ſubmitted on theſe terms; but *Joſeph Wagſtaffe*, Sir *Robert Maſon*, and Mr. *Thomas Mempeſſon* eſcaped away and got over Sea, leaving their Eſtates to the diſpoſal of the Uſurper; the reſt of the party became Priſoners, and were carried into

into *Exeter* Goal, where lay while the next Aſſizes. In the mean time, ſeveral other perſons engaged in the ſame fatal buſineſſe, were apprehended at *Salisbury*, and other places, and ſecured in the ſeveral Goals, till ſuch time, as *Cromwel* to make himſelf more abſolute, had perverted and forced ſuch Judges as he had deſigned for the Summer Circuit to comply with his inſtructions, and by the reſpective Sheriffs, upon pains of the ſame diſpleaſure, had empannelled Juries for his turn.

I omit wilfully the names of both Judges and Juries, not ſo much for their ſakes, as the memory of that obtruſion upon the Lawes, being that murther was countenanced by them while a *High Court of Juſtice* was ready at hand, and it portended ſome ill irrecoverable miſchief to the generality of the *Nation*, where that paſſed by legal Verdict. So great a ſhame to us that challenge Engliſh Freedom, and have conteſted ſo often with our Princes for *Magna Charta*, that it cannot paſs our Pen without burning our fingers: not onely ſtygmatize that age, but ſet a mark on the future.

In the Summer Aſſizes, as before is ſaid, the

the Judges went their Circuit; but before that time, *Cromwel* had cauſed Col. *Penruddock*, and one Mr. *Jones* related to his Highneſs-ſhip, to be brought up to be examined before him, which, they being in the cuſtody of the *Serjeant at Armes*, ſeveral times underwent in reference to a further diſcovery of other perſons engaged in the buſineſs: but that took not with them, who had founded their loyaltie upon a Rock, which ſome guſts and violent ſtorms might batter, but never pierce nor enter.

They were not wanting in an honourable way to their own preſervation, while they had this ſeeming advantage, (as knowing how grievous to their Families this their deſtruction would prove) of ſtaying here; Mr. *Jones* got off indeed afterwards, but Mr. *Penruddock* ſuffered the extremity of their own Law, the Sword, which had given him quarter for life at his taking.

Colonel *Penruddock* being removed to his priſon at *Exeter*, after they had finiſhed their *Inquiſition* with him, at his departure deſired the prayers of ſeveral Congregations in *London*, for a ſupply of comfort to him in his diſtreſſed conditi-

on

on, (being then bound for his laſt home, and aſſuredly knowing his near and inevitable diſſolution) which was earneſtly and loyally endeavoured, even in thoſe dangerous times.

They were both preſently re-guarded to their former Priſons to expect their Doom, which not long awaited them and their partakers; for, at the Aſſizes held in the County of *Devonſhire* in the City of *Exeter*, they were indited for Treaſon, in levying War again the *Protector*, and by a perjured Jury found guilty, according to that precedent newly brought to them from *Salisbury*, where the ſame Charge was exhibited, and for Example proſecuted to Effect.

In fine, Judgement was given againſt them upon this Conviction, and ſome 16 ſuffered the pains and penalties thereof: whoſe Names we refer to an enſuing Catalogue: only deſiring you to be ſatisfied with the brief account of the principal perſons here, becauſe it will be not only ſome trouble to write their particular ſtories involved in the general deſign of this Service, but by reaſon the whole was tranſacted by theſe mens Purſes & Authority, and more ſignalized by their life & death.

I.

I preſume not neither to be punctual in the matter of Colonel *Penruddock*; for that he himſelf was abuſed in the hopes of the publiſhing his Examinations and Tryal, wherein the high injuſtice offered him would moſt plainly appear, eſpecially in the buſineſs of Capt. *Crook*, and therfore ſhall tranſmit the memory of this noble and Heroick Royaliſt, with as much honor & ſolemn veneration, as indignation & zeal againſt thoſe Times and Perſons, that envied us the Retroſpect of this his glory, by forbidding & ſuppreſſing any account thereof to be publiſhed, that they might thereby conceal their baſe treachery and unlawful proceedings.

Colonel *Penruddock* thus butchered, Colonel *Groves*, a ſomewhat antient and very grave man, was brought upon the reaking Scaffold, he had been an Officer of that Dignity and Command in the Kings Armies before; and therefore that honourable ſolemnity of murther was afforded him. He ſpoke at his Trial little to his Judges, whoſe enjoyned buſineſs and meritorious Service with *Oliver*, he well knew was to bereave him of his life; but addreſt himſelf wholly to the Jury, who were a packt number of Schiſmaticks,

maticks, and, who, Serpent like, were deaf to his Charmes of Reaſon and Law, though preſſed and tenaciouſly urged by him.

As he ſaid little at the Bar, ſo he ſaid leſs at the Block, but piouſly and fervently recommended his Soul to God, deſiring him to forgive his Enemies, and ſo laid down his life, and ſlept in the Lord; their Speeches follow.

After this Execution was paſt, they proceeded (not becauſe they ſaw it pleaſed the people, for the Royal people of *Exeter* never beheld the like deteſtable ſight) in their violence againſt others of the meaner ſort, who were taken in that ſame buſineſs at *Southmolton*, who by their diſcriminating malice were deſtined to the Gibbet, nine of whom ſuffered thereat, averring their moſt righteous Cauſe, and telling the Sheriff, a Knight of *Olivers*, that another account and eſtimate would not long after be made of them, to the ſhame and confuſion of their Enemies. After they were dead, they were all honourably buried in that City, all ſorts of perſons in great numbers following them to their Graves, which was highly reſented, and ſtuck deeply in

Cromwel's

Cromwels ſtomack, but he knew not which way to puniſh the City for that piety; no more then he could brook or prevent their charity; the Citizens from the time of the impriſonment of them, being above fourſcore in number, maintaining them with all neceſſaries, even to abundance and ſuperfluity.

But though he could not ſtop the giver, he found a way to hinder the receiver, for after the Aſſizes (wherein many more were condemned beſides them that were Executed, and the others ſtill kept in durance, in expectation of future tryal) he cauſed them to be tranſported to the *Barbado's*, ſelling them as ſlaves to ſome of thoſe Turkiſh Merchants, who trade in the lives of men, as this Butcher *Cromwel* in their deaths, who ſold and employed them in thoſe Plantations, where the Pagan clowns, or more properly villains, uſed and worked them beyond their ſtrength and endurance, which ſoon after the Tyrant was gone to his place, came to a hearing in Parliament, in *Richards* non-age.

The ſame Judges at their return back held another Aſſize at *Chard* in *Somerſetſhire*, where *Cromwells* Scouts had gleaned

up

up a few of those scattered persons, two whereof they murthered there, but Major *Hunt*, whom they had principally designed for the gorge, gave them the slip in the habit of one of his Sisters, who staid behind in his Chamber in bed, which they discovered not till morning, to the unspeakable, intolerable vexation of the tyrant, who threatned all manner of deaths to the Jaylor.

I had almost forgot their errand at *Salisbury*, where they likewise beheaded on Mr. . of *Hungerford*, and one Mr. *Kency*, and three others were hanged for the same matter; much stir was made, and many addresses were presented to *Cromwel*, in the behalf of them, but all proved ineffectual, onely one Mr. *Dean*, the only son of a widow, and he not actually in arms, was after sentence reprieved; The sufferers dyed constantly and assured in their just actions, as the rest, and gave glory to God, and received it again in their eternal recompence.

The

The Speech of the Honourable Colonel Penruddock, *the greateſt part whereof he delivered upon the Scaffold in* Exon. *Caſtle the* 16. *day of* May 1655. *the whole he left with a Gentleman and friend of his, written with his own hand; which is as followeth.*

Together with the manner of his being beheaded.

As he was aſcending the Scaffold, baring his knees, and bowing himſelf, he uſed theſe words: This I hope will prove to be like *Jacobs* ladder; though the feet of it reſt on Earth, yet I doubt not but the top of it reacheth to Heaven.

When he came upon the Scaffold, he ſaid,

O wretched man that I am, who ſhall deliver me from this body of death? I thank God who hath given me victory through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

Then with abundance of Chriſtian cheerfulneſſe he ſpake to the people as followeth.

Gentlemen,

IT hath ever been the cuſtom of all perſons whatſoever when they come to die,

die, to give ſome ſatisfaction to the world, whether they be guilty of the fact of which they ſtand charged. The crime for which they ſtand charged, the crime for which I am now to die, is Loyalty, (but) in this age call'd high Treaſon. I cannot deny but I was at *Southmolton* in this County: but whether my being there, or my actions there amount to ſo high a crime as high Treaſon, I leave it to the world and to the Law to judge. Truly, if I were concious to my ſelf of any baſe ends that I had in this undertaking, I would not be ſo injurious to my own ſoul, or diſingenuous to you as not to make a publique acknowledgment thereof. I ſuppoſe that divers perſons, according as they are biaſſed in their ſeveral intereſts and relations, give their opinions to the world concerning us. I conceive it is impoſſible therefore ſo to expreſſe my ſelf in this particular, as not to expoſe both my judgement and reputation to the cenſure of many, which I ſhall leave behind me. Becauſe I will not put others (therefore) upon a breach of Charity concerning me or my actions, I have thought fit to decline all diſcourſes which may give them a capacity either

to

to enjure themſelves or me. My tryal was publick, and my ſeveral examinations (I believe) will be produced when I am in my grave. I will refer you therefore to the firſt, which I am ſure ſome of you heard, and to the later, which many of you (in good time) may ſee. Had Captain *Crook* done himſelf and us that right which a Gentleman and a Souldier ought to have done, I had not now been here. The man I forgive with all my heart; but truly Gentlemen, his proteſting againſt thoſe Articles he himſelf with ſo many proteſtations and importunities put upon us, hath drawn ſo much diſhonour and blood upon his head, that I fear ſome heavy judgement will purſue him. Though he hath been falſe to us, I pray God I do not prove a true prophet to him.

Nay, I muſt ſay more, that coming on the road to *Exon*, he the ſaid Captaine *Crook* told me, Sir *Joſeph Wagſtaff* was a gallant Gentleman, and that he was ſorry he was not taken with us; that then he might have had the benefit of our ARTICLES, but now (ſaid he) I have beſet all the Countrry for him, ſo that he cannot eſcape, but muſt be hanged.

He

He alſo queſtioned me as I paſſed through *Salisbury* from *London*, whether he had given me conditions: Which I endeavouring to make appear to Major *Butler*, he interrupted me, and unwillingly confeſt ſaying, I profered him four hundred pounds to perform his Articles; which had been a ſtrange proffer of mine, had I not really conditioned with him. And I told him then (having found him unworthy) I would have given him five hundred pounds, believing him to be mercenary. To make it yet farther appear, I injure him not by ſtiling him unworthy, after theſe Articles were given, he proffered to Piſtol me, if I did not perſwade another houſe to yeeld, which then were boldly reſiſting. To which my ſervant *John Biby* (now a priſoner) replyed. I hope you will not be ſo unworthy as to break the Law of Arms.

Thus much I am obliged to ſay to the honour of the ſouldiery, that they have been ſo far from breaking any Articles given to others, that they have rather bettered them then otherwiſe.

It is now our miſfortune to be made preſidents and examples together: But I will

I will not do the Protector ſo much injury, as to load him with diſhonour; ſince I have been informed, that he would have made our conditions good, if *Crook*, that gave them, had not abjur'd them.

This is not a time for me to enlarge upon any ſubject, ſince I am now become the Subject of death: But ſince the Articles were drawn by my hand, I thought my ſelf obliged to a particular Juſtification of them.

I could tell you of ſome ſouldiers which are turned out of his Troop for defending thoſe conditions of ours: but let that paſs; and henceforward, inſtead of life, liberty, and eſtate, (which were the Articles agreed upon) let drawing, hanging, and quartering, bear the Denomination of Cap. *Crooks* Articles.

However, I thank the Protector for granting me this honourable death.

I ſhould now give you an account of my Faith. But truly Gentlemen this poor Nation is rent into ſo many ſeveral opinions, that it is impoſſible for me to give you mine without diſpleaſing ſome of you. However if a man be ſo critical, as to enquire of what faith I die,

I ſhall refer him to the Apoſtles, *Athanaſius* & the *Nicene* Creed, and to the teſtimony of this Reverend Gentleman, Dr. *Short*, to whom I have unboſomed my ſelf: and if this do not ſatisfie, look in the thirty nine Articles of the Catholick Church of *England*; to them I have ſubſcribed, and do own them as authentick.

Having now given you an account concerning my ſelf; I hold my ſelf obliged in duty to ſome of my friends, to take off a ſuſpition which lies upon them: I mean as to ſome perſons of Honour, which upon my examination, I was charged to have held correſpondency with. The Marqueſs of *Hartford*, the Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*, and my Lord of *Pembrook* were the perſons nominated to me. I did then acquit them, and do now ſecond it with this proteſtation, That I never held any correſpondency with either or any of them, in relation to this particular buſineſſe, or indeed to any thing which concern'd the Protector or his Government. As for the Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*, I ſaw him ſome twelve years ſince, and not later; and if I ſhould ſee him here preſent, I believe I ſhould not

not know him. And for the Earle of *Pembrook*, he was not a man likely, to whom I ſhould diſcover my thoughts, becauſe he is a man of a contrary Judgment.

I was examined likewiſe concerning my Brother *Freke*, my Couſin *Haſtings*, Mr. *Dorrington*, and others. It is probable their eſtates may make them liable to this condition: but I do here ſo far acquit them as to give the World this farther proteſtation that I am confident they are as innocent in this buſineſs as the youngeſt child here.

I have no more to ſay to you now, but to let you know that I am in charity with all men, I thank God I both can, and do forgive my greateſt perſecutors, and all that ever had any hand in my death.

I have offered the Protector as good ſecurity for my future demeanor as I ſuppoſe he could have expected: if he had thought fit to have given me my life, certainly I ſhould not have been ſo ungrateful as to have imployed it againſt him. I do humbly ſubmit to Gods pleaſure, knowing that the iſſues of life and death are in his hand. My blood is but

a ſmall ſacrifice, if it had been ſaved, I am ſo much a Gent. as to have given thanks to him that preſerved it; and ſo much a Chriſtian, as to forgive them which take it. But ſeeing God by his providence hath called me to lay it down, I willingly ſubmit to it, though terrible to nature: but bleſſed be my Saviour, who hath taken out the ſting: ſo that I look upon it with terrour. Death is a debt, and a due debt; and it hath pleaſed God to make me ſo good a husband, that I am come to pay it before it is due. I am not aſhamed of the Cauſe for which I die, but rather rejoyce that I am thought worthy to ſuffer in the defence and cauſe of Gods true Church, my lawfull King, the liberty of the Subject, and Priviledge of Parliaments. Therefore I hope none of my Aliance and Friends will be aſhamed of it; it is ſo far from pulling down my Family, that I look upon it as the raiſing of it one ſtory higher. Neither was I ſo prodigal of nature as to throw away my life, but have uſed (though none but honourable and honeſt) means to preſerve it.

Theſe unhappy times indeed have been very fatall to my family: two of my Bro-

Brothers already ſlain, and my ſelf going to the ſlaughter: it is Gods will, and I humbly ſubmit to that providence.

I muſt render an acknowledgement of the great civilities that I have received from this City of *Exon*, and ſome perſons of quality, and for their plentiful proviſion made for the priſoners. I thank Mr. Sheriff for his favour towards us, in particular to my ſelf; and I deſire him to preſent my due reſpects to the Protector, and though he had no mercy for my ſelf, yet that he would have reſpect to my family.

I am now ſtripping off my clothes to fight a duel with death, (I conceive no other duel lawful) but my Saviour hath pulled out the ſting of this mine enemy, by making himſelf a ſacrifice for me: And truly I do not think that man deſerving one drop of his bloud, that will not ſpend all for him in ſo good a cauſe.

The Truth is Gentlemen, in this Age, Treaſon is an *individium vagum*, like the wind in the Goſpel, it bloweth wher it liſteth: So now Treaſon is what they pleaſe, &

lighteth upon whom they will. Indeed no man, except he will be a Traytor can avoid this Cenſure of Treaſon. I know not to what end it may come, but I pray God my own, and my Brothers blood that is now to die with me, may be the laſt upon this ſcore.

Now Gentlemen, you may ſee what a condition you are in without a King: you have no law to protect you, no rule to walke by; when you perform your duty to God, your King and Country you diſpleaſe the Arbitrary power now ſet up; (I cannot call it government.) I ſhall leave you to peruſe my tryal, and there you ſhall ſee what a condition this poor Nation is brought into; and (no queſtion) will be utterly deſtroyed, if not reſtored (by loyal Subjects) to its old and glorious Government. I pray God he lay not his Judgements upon *England* for their ſluggiſhneſs in doing their duty, and readineſs to put their hands in their boſoms, or rather taking part with the Enemy of Truth. The Lord open their eyes, that they may be no longer lead, or drawn into ſuch ſnares: elſe the Child that is unborn will curſe the day of their Parents birth.

God

God almighty preſerve my Lawful K. *Charles* the ſecond, from the hands of his Enemies, and break down that wall of Pride and Rebellion, which ſo long hath kept him from his juſt Rights. God preſerve his Royal Mother, and all his Majeſtys Royal Brethren, and incline their hearts to ſeek after him. God incline the hearts of all true *Engliſhmen* to ſtand up as one man to bring in the King; and redeem themſelves and this poor Kingdom out of its more then *Egyptian* ſlavery.

As I have now put off theſe garments of cloth, ſo I hope I have put off my garments of ſin, & have put on the Robes of Chriſts Righteouſneſſe here; which will bring me to the enjoyment of his glorious Robes anon.

Then he kneeled down and kiſſed the block, and ſaid thus, I commit my ſoul to God my Creator, and Redeemer. Look upon me, O Lord, at my laſt gaſping: Hear my prayer, and the prayers of all good people. I thank thee, O God, for all thy diſpenſations towards me.

Then kneeling down, he prayed moſt devoutſuly, as followeth.

O Eternal, Almighty, and most mercifull God, the Righteous Judge of all the world, look down in mercy on me a miserable sinner. O blessed Jesus, Redeemer of Mankind, which takest away the sins of the world, let thy perfect manner of obedience be presented to thy Heavenly Father for me. Let thy precious death and bloud be the ransome and satisfaction of my many and heynous transgressions. Thou that sittest at the right hand of God make intercession for me. O holy and blessed Spirit which art the Comforter, fill my heart with thy consolations. O holy, blessed, and glorious Trinity, be mercifull to me, confirm my faith in the promises of the Gospel revive and quicken my hope and expectation of joys prepared for true and faithfull servants. Let the infinite Love of God my Saviour, make my love to him stedfast, sincere, and constant.

O Lord consider my condition, accept my tears, asswage my grief, give me comfort and confidence in thee: impute not unto me my former sins, but most mercifull Father receive me into thy favour, for the merits of Christ Jesus. Many and grievous are my sins, for I have sinned many times against the light of knowledge, against remorse of conscience, a-

gainst

gainſt the motions & opportunities of grace. But accept I beſeech thee, the ſacrifice of a broken and contrite heart, in and for the perfect ſacrifice, oblation, and ſatisfaction of thy Son Jeſus Chriſt. *O Lord receive my ſoul after it is delivered from the burthen of the fleſh, into perfect joy in the ſight and fruition of thee. And at the general reſurrection, grant that my body may be endowed with immortality, and received with my ſoul into glory.*

I praiſe thee O God, I acknowledge thee to be the Lord, O Lamb of God, that takeſt away the ſins of the world, have mercy on me. Thou that ſitteſt at the right hand of God, hear my prayer. O Lord Jeſus Chriſt, God and Man, Mediator betwixt God and Man, I have ſinned as a Man, be thou mercifull to me as a God. O holy and bleſſed Spirit, help my infirmities with thoſe ſighs and groans which I cannot expreſſe.

Then he deſired to ſee the Axe, and kiſſed it, ſaying, I am like to have a ſharp paſſage of it, but my Savior hath ſweetned it unto me. Then he ſaid, If I would have been ſo unworthy as others have been, I ſuppoſe I might by a lye have ſaved my life, which I ſcorn to purchaſe at ſuch a

rate. I defie ſuch temptations, and them that gave them me.

Glory be to God on high: On Earth peace: Good will towards Men. And the Lord have mercy upon my poor ſoul. Amen.

So laying his Neck upon the Block, after ſome private Ejaculations, he gave the Heads-man a ſign with his hand, who at one blow ſevered his head from his body.

The true Speech of that Valiant and pious-ly reſolved Hugh Grove *of* Chiſenbu-ry, *in the Pariſh of* Enford, *and County of* Wilts *Eſquire, beheaded the 16th. of* May, 1655. *in the Caſtle at* Exon.

Good people,

I Never was guilty of much Rhetorick, nor ever loved long Speeches in all my life, and therefore you cannor expect either of them from me now at my death. All that I ſhall deſire of you, beſides your hearty prayers for my ſoul, is,

That

That you would bear me witneſſe, I die a true ſon of the Church of *England*, as it was eſtabliſhed by King *Edward* the ſixth, Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James*, and King *Charls* the firſt of bleſſed memmory: That I die a Loyall Subject to King *Charls* the ſecond, my undoubted Soveraign, and a lover of the good old Laws of the Land, the juſt priviledges of Parliaments, and Rights and Liberties of the People; for the re-eſtabliſhing of all which I did undertake this engagement, and for which I am ready to lay down my life. God forgive the bloody-minded Jury and thoſe that procured them: God forgive Captain *Crook* for denying his Articles ſo unworthily: God forgive Mr. *Dove*, and all other perſons ſwearing ſo maliciouſly and falſely againſt me: God forgive all my enemies; I heartily forgive them. God bleſſe the KING and all that love him, turn the hearts of all that hate him; God bleſſe you all, and be merciful to you, and to my ſoul, Amen.

And ſo meekly laying his Neck to the block, and giving a ſign, his head at one blow and a draw of the axe, was ſevered from his body.

The

Sir Henry Slingsby, *and Dr.* Hewyt, *beheaded on* Tower-hill, *June* 8. 1658.

THis was the laſt Act of *Cromwel's* Tragedies; Death putting ſoon after a period to his Uſurpation, and Epilogizing other mens fate with his own, his life had been attended, and his hours meaſured with ſtillation of blood; now they were determined: this full pomp of ſlaughter went before, and uſhered his long-deſired Funerals to his uſurped Grace.

He never ſtirr'd a Plot, but money ſtuck at the bottom. He had an Army of *Janizaries*, which without conſtant pay could never be kept at his beck and obedience, and all the deſign he practiſed could not raiſe him money without the tricks of Jealouſies and Fears; that State-Device, ſerving by fondneſs and force to bring in mony for the Cauſe from the beginning to the very ending; and this was the original of this horrid Plot.

For nothing elſe can be made out; he had lately ſo frighted all men by his known intelligence at the Kings Court,

that

that none but mad-men, except the condition of the Tyrannie were altered, would venture upon any new Contrivance; the Usurper being stronger and farther seated in his Domination then ever before, and the severity of his Revenge against those whom he took in such practices was so fresh and recent in memory, that nothing but Desperation could thrust men upon such Pikes.

Therefore he had recourse to his old Artifices, and because no body would be dealing with him, he would be dealing with others, to make the people believe and apprehend danger, and afterwards pay for the delivery from, (that is to say, for the perpetration of) it.

The Design was laid in all quarters, *North*, *East*, *West* and *South*, but centred in the City of *London*; 'twas a General Conbination betwixt him and his Secretary, and so I'le not dive in it further, but leave those parties who are concerned in the death's of these and some preceding persons, to consider of the rest, and proceed to the *Narrative*.

The first man that was produced in this Plot (which was to subvert the Usurpation, till the Tyrant introduce and restore

reſtore our Sovereign, with a particular kind reference to the City, which ſhould be fired (by its former Incendiaries) was Sir *Henry Slingsby*, a Gentleman of a very Noble Family in *Yorkſhire*, of an ample and large Revenue and Eſtate in *Yorkſhire*, but exhauſted and waſted in the Kings Service, and afterwards wholly ſequeſtred for the Parliament.

This Knight, for ſome time before had been a priſoner in *Hull*, in order to the ſecurity of the Peace, as their Tyrannie termed it, but for many yeares together no ſtranger to ſuch demeurances. In that Garriſon he became acquainted, as the ſolace of miſery, and life neceſſitated him, with ſome of the Officers; they likewiſe inſinuating and ingratiating with him, but more particularly, when inſtructions were given them of trapanning him into ſome deſign, againſt their Sultan *Crommel*.

This engaged them into a nearer familiarity, Sir *Henry's* caſe and hard uſage is lamented, the ſtate of the Kingdome laid open, and the oppreſſion of the people aggravated, with many the like overtures, to feel if the pulſe

of

of Sir *Henry* would beat an Alarm to an insurrection, which for their part truly they feared, but should not draw a Sword against any, who should so attempt the regaining and recovery of their liberty.

To these Discoveries Sir *Henry* gave some pleasant, but not serious eare, though he did not utterly disbelieve the discontents of those men: knowing, if it was absolute truth they spoke, and might in time be accomplished, and therefore let fall some words tending to that purpose; on which they replying, and professing their serious service to the King if occasion presented it; drew some further matter from Sir *Henry*; which was, the offering of a Commission to them to secure that place for the King.

This was an old Commission, and which had lain by him a long while: so remote and distant were his thoughts from effecting any thing; Before they had thus brought him on, and had then produced upon the sudden and unexpected hopes of gaining that Town.

The producing of this Commission was enough for their Tyrants satisfaction,

on, who ſtraight gave Order that he ſhould be ſent up to *London*, who after ſome Examination, he was ſent to the *Tower*, and finally brought before a *High Court of Juſtice*, where he manifeſted the Juggle by which he was brought into the ſnare; and demonſtrated the impoſſibility of his doing any prejudice to the State, but that was no Argument there; ſo that he was ſentenced to be beheaded, by vertue of a late Act of one of *Olivers* Conventions, whereby it was made Treaſon to hold intelligence with the Kings Majeſty.

Much application was made to ſave his life by the Lord *Viſcount Faucon-bridge* his Nephew, who had lately married one of the Uſurpers Daughters; but as Sir *Henry* ſaid at the Scaffold, he was inexorable; the truth is, the Tyrant ſuppoſed, that his not ſparing a perſon ſo related to him, would make all the World believe there was a reality of ſome horrid deſign, which could not be diſpenſed with, without extream danger to the publique.

He ſaid very little at his death, not caring to buſy the world with his concerns, having ſpoken largely to his Charge at his Trial, before the ſaid *High Court*, the ſubſtance on the Scaffold was this. *The*

The fatal Execution of Sir Henry Slingsby *on Tueſday the* 8. *of* June, 1658. *upon* Tower-Hill: *With the ſubſtance of his* ſpeech *before his Death.*

ABout Eleven of the Clock Sir *Henry Slingsby* was brought from the Tower to the Scaffold on Tower-Hill; whither being come he fell upon his knees, and for a ſhort ſpace prayed privately.

Then ſtanding up, he did with a very low voice, addreſs himſelf to that noble Gentleman Mr. Sheriff *Robinſon*, telling him that what he had to ſay he would ſpeak to him; which was to this purpoſe.

That he had received a Sentence to die, upon account of his endeavouring to betray the Garriſon of Hull; *But ſaid, All that he did in that buſineſſe he was drawn into by others.*

That the Officers of that Garriſon did believe he had ſome greater Deſign in hand, and therefore they would needs pump him to the bottom: But what he ſpake to them in private was brought into evidence againſt him. He likewiſe ſaid, That he did no more

more than any person would have done that was so brought on.

That he had made many applications (by his Friends) for a Reprieve, but found his Highnesse was inexorable.

He did confess that he did deliver a Commission (as it was charged against him:) But said, that it was an old Commission, and what he meant was well known to himself; but what construction others had made of it, might appear by his present condition.

He discovered little sense of sorrow, or fear of Death; but said, *He was ready to submit*, or words to like purpose.

Then he addressed himself to private prayer again; and kneeling down to the Block, he prayed privately for a short space: Then laid his head upon the Block, and at the sign given, the Executioner severed His Head from his Body at one Blow: And his Friends put his Body into a Coffin, and removed it into a close Coach prepared neer the place.

Doctor

Doctor Hewyt.

THis Venerable *Doctor* was next brought upon the Stage, and baited to Death by their Belial *Preſident Liſle*. His objected Crimes, were for conſpiring againſt the Government, with divers others, and holding intelligence with the King, branched out into ſeveral Articles.

After the Charge exhibited, he demurred to their Jurisdiction, citing divers Law-Caſes and Preſidents to back the Reaſons he alledged againſt their Authority, but withal, prayd the *Court* he might not be taken upon the nicety & punctilio of their Law; & that, if they would pleaſe to evince the legality of their *Court* to him, he would inſtantly plead to his Charge, and leave himſelf to them.

While he thus diſputed with them, they took advantage of three times demanding his Plea, after which they would not admit of it, though he thrice petitioned them, that they would pleaſe to accept thereof; but it ſeems they were more contented without it, being not able to prove their Charge, their Witneſſes failing them, as it appeared afterwards in other

other mens caſes, whom they had appointed for the ſlaughter.

They were alſo the more peremptory and untractable to this reverent perſon, becauſe of his great Eſteem and Abilities, which he had a long while employed at St. *Gregories* in the ſervice of this *Church*, *King*, and *Kingdom*, whoſe cauſe he forbore not to plead in the worſt of thoſe times, till he was taken from his Miniſtry by the Tyrant, and his Eloquent Tongue ſilenced in the Grave.

And if *Cromwel* had any particular malice to any perſon, in the contrivance of their death, this good *Doctor* was one, whom he upbraided with railing and unbecoming language at his Examination before him, as may appear in the *Doctor's* Speech on the Scaffold, to which we refer the Reader, and with the reſt of this Taper-light, now expiring, bring him down to his Monument. He prayed very fervently & earneſtly for the ſpace of almoſt half an hour, and then ſealed his *Martyrdom*, by having his head ſevered from his body with much *Chriſtian* Magnanimity; where we leave him, till his appearance with the Lamb, with his *white Robes*, and *Crown* of *Martyrdom*.

The

The Horrid Execution of the reverend Doctor John Hewyt *D. D. on the ſame Scaffold, on Tueſday the ſame* 8. *of* June 1658. *with his ſpeech before his Death.*

AS ſoon as Sir *Henry Slingsby's* body was removed, as is aforeſaid. Dr. *Hewyt* was brought upon the Scaffold, whether being come (together with Dr. *Wild*, Dr. *Warmſtry*, and Mr. *Barwick*) he fell upon his knees, and prayed privately for the ſpace of a quarter of an hour; After that he prayed audibly for a good ſpace.

After which prayer he addreſſed himſelf to the people in a ſpeech which continued above the ſpace of an hour, the ſubſtance of which ſpeech was as followeth,

I am now become a publick Spectacle to Men and Angels (I hope) God, who is Omniſcient, is now beholding me with much pity, and great mercy and compaſſion; and the more, becauſe I am now come to that end that his own Son came into the world to, To bear witneſs to the truth: he himſelf ſaid, *For this end was I born, for this cauſe came I into the world*

world, that I ſhould bear witneſs to the Truth: I was brought into the world (the Chriſtian world) for to bear witneſs to the truth of the Goſpel, as a common Chriſtian; I was brought into the world (the Church) as a Miniſter of his bleſſed Word and Sacraments; [Bleſſed be his name for that great honour and dignity] and I came into the world to die more immediately for the teſtimony of JESUS, which God hath now called me to. I came into this world (this Common-wealth) to be a member thereof, to bear witneſſe to the truths of the Cuſtomes, the Laws, the Liberties, and Priviledges thereof, So I am a member of the Common-wealth? And me thinks it ſeems to me a ſtrange thing, that in as much as we all plead for Liberty, and Priviledges, and I pleading for the Priviledges, the Laws, the Statutes, and the Cuſtomes of this Land, yet I ſhould die by thoſe that ſhould ſtand for the Laws, the Statutes, and Priviledges of the Land: And I am here beheld by thoſe that plead for their Liberties, and I hope I am pitied, becauſe I here give up my ſelf willingly and freely to be a State Martyr for the publick good; and I had rather die many deaths

deaths my ſelf, than betray my fellow freemen to ſo many inconvences, that they might be like to ſuffer by being ſubject to the wills of them that willed me to this death.

And it is worthy remembrance, that Mr. *Solicitor* having impeached me of Treaſon to the Commiſſioners of the Court againſt his Highneſſe, I did often (when brought before thoſe Commiſſioners) plead for the Liberties of the people of *England*, though I had not the knowledge of the Law, yet I had inſtruction from thoſe that were learned in the Law, and had ſeveral Law-Caſes and preſidents put into my hand, though not by them, and urged ſeveral Law-Caſes, and made my Appeal, Firſt for the Judicature that I was to be tryed by, whether it were according to Law? whether it were according to the Act? and whether it were according to the words of the ſaid Act? I did appeal to have the ſaid Act argued by learned Lawyers on both ſides, and then to be reſolved by his Highneſſe own Councel, which was denyed me, [This by the by] I preſſing the Argument made a ſecond appeal, that thoſe Judges, if they would give ſingly their ſeveral judgments

ments that it was a juſt and lawfull Court of Judicature, I would anſwer to my Charge, I did make another Appeal to thoſe that were his Highneſs's Council, and pleaded againſt me. That if they would deliver it to me under their hands to be according to Law I would then go on to plead and anſwer to the Charge. What was then ſaid further, my ſpirits being faint, I ſhall not ſay much, but only this, I was taken in three defaults, upon formality of the Court: It ſeems it is a cuſtome in all Courts, (which I did not know before) that if they anſwer not the third time, ſpeaking by the Clerk, that then they are guilty of three defaults, and proceeded againſt as mute: [I had no ſuch knowledge of the Law.] So they found me guilty of thoſe defaults; and when I would have pleaded, and reſolved to begin to plead, I was taken from the Bar. I did the next day make my Petition to the Court in the Painted-Chamber, two Petitions were preſented the ſame in effect; the former the Title was miſtaken: Yet becauſe the Title was miſtaken, and no anſwer given, therefore it was that another petition was drawn up to the ſame effect, with

with a new Title given, (as I remember) presented by the Serjeant at arms, and one writ it over in such hast, lest they should be drawn out of the Painted-Chamber into the Court, that I had not time to read it over, only I subscribed my name, and there was in the front of the Petition a word left out, but what the word was I know not; and this was taken so ill, as if I had put an affront or contempt upon the Court: And it was thought they would have heard me plead; and then because of that mistake, they sent word, I should have my answer when I came into the Court; and my answer was the sentence of condemnation. And therefore I pray with all my soul, that God would forgive all those that occasioned the charge to be drawn against me: to give such unjust things against me: I pray with all my soul, that God would forgive all those upon so slender and small grounds adjudg'd me to die, taking advantage of such simple ignorance as I was in. And I had at the very beginning of my pleading engaged their honours, no advantage should be taken against me to my prejudice, that in as much as I understood nothing of the Law, And having heard

that a man in the nicety of the Law might be loſt in the ſeverity thereof, meerly for ſpeaking a word out of ſimple ignorance, I made it my prayer to them, that no advantage might be taken againſt me to the prejudice of my perſon, and there was to me a ſeeming conſent; for the Preſident told me, there ſhould be no advantage taken againſt me; and upon theſe conſiderations I am afraid there was too great uncharitableneſs. But I pray God forgive them from the very bottom of my ſoul, and I deſire that even thoſe that ſhed my blood, may have the bowels of the God of mercy ſhed for them.

And now having given you the occaſion of my coming hither, it is fit I ſhould give you ſomewhat as concerning my ſelf, as I am a Chriſtian, and as I am a Clergy-man. Firſt, as I am a Chriſtian, I thank God I was baptized to the holy Church, ſo I was baptized to be a Member of the holy Catholique Church, that is the Church of *England*, which I dare ſay for purity of Doctrine, and orderly Diſcipline, till a ſad reformation had ſpoiled the face of the Church, and made it a query, whether it were Church, or no? I ſay it was more pure-

ly

ly Divine and Apoſtolical, then any other Doctrine or Church in the Chriſtian world, whether National, or Claſſical, or Congregational. And I muſt tell you, That as I am a Member of this Church, ſo I am a Member of the holy Catholick Church, & ſhall give a moſt juſt confeſſion of my Faith, both negatively and affirmatively. Negatively, I am ſo a Member of the Catholick Church, that I abhor all Sects, Schiſms, Sedition, and Tyranny in Religion. Affirmatively ſo, that as I hold Communion with, ſo I love and honour all Chriſtians in the world, that love the ſame Lord JESUS in ſincerity, and call on his Name, agreeing with thoſe truths that are abſolutely neceſſary, and clearly demonſtrated in the Word of God, both in the Old and New Teſtament, though in charity diſſenting from ſome others, that are not neceſſary. And I, as I am thus a Chriſtian, I hope for ſalvation through the Merits of Chriſt Jeſus, his blood I relie on, his merits I truſt to for the ſalvation of my own ſoul: though to this Faith good Works are neceſſary; not meritorious in us, but onely made meritorious by Chriſt his death, by his alſufficiency, by his ſatisfaction,

and his righteousness, they become meritorious, but in us they are no other than as defiled Rags. And truly, as I am a Member of the Church, so I told you I was a Member of this Community, and so pleaded for the Liberties and Privileges thereof. I must now answer something I am aspersed withal in the World.

They talk of something of a Plot, and a Treasonable design, and that I had a great interest in the knowledge and practise thereof, and that, for the saving my life, I would have discovered and betrayed I cannot tell what. I hope my conversation hath not been such here in this City; where I have been a long time very well known, as to make one imagine I should intermedle in such an action, and go so contrary to the practice of my profession: and I hope there are none so uncharitable towards me, as to believe I had a knowledge of that design.

Here I must come to particulars for a Plot, of having a design upon the City of *London*, for the firing of it. I so much tremble at the thought of the thing, that should have been done, as they say, for the carrying on of such a design, (if my heart deceive me not) had I known it,

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I ſo much abhorre the thing, I ſhould have been the firſt diſcoverer of it: Nor ever had I had correſpondency or meetings with ſuch perſons as would have carried on ſuch a deſign. It is ſaid likewiſe I entertained the Earl, the Marqueſs of *Ormond:* To my remembrance I never ſaw the face of that honourable perſon in my life. It is ſaid, one Lords day I did preach at Saint *Gregories*, and the next Lords day I was at *Bruſſels* or *Bruges*, and kiſt the Kings hand, and brought I cannot tell what Orders and Inſtructions from him. This I ſhall ſay, For theſe three years laſt paſt together, I have not been ſixty miles from this City of *London*, and I think it is ſomewhat further to either of thoſe places than threeſcore miles. It is ſaid that I kept correſpondency with one *Mallory* and *Biſhop*: They are perſons I have heard of their names; but never ſaw their faces: and to my knowledge I do not know they know me: nor do I know them at all, but only as I have heard of their names. And whoſoever elſe hath ſuggeſted ſuch things againſt me, I know not.

His Highneſſe was pleaſed to tell me, I was like a flaming Torch in the midſt of a

ſheaf

ſheaf of Corn: He meaning, I being a publick Preacher, was able to ſet the City on fire by ſedition and combuſtions, and promoting deſignes. Here truly I do ſay, and have it from many of thoſe who are Judges of the High-Court, that upon examination of the buſineſs they have not found me a medler at all in theſe Affairs. And truly I muſt needs ſay therefore, That it was a very uncharitable act in them (whoever they were) that brought ſuch accuſation againſt me, and irritated his Highneſs, againſt me. I will not ſay it was malice, it might be zeal, but it was raſh zeal which cauſed me to be ſentenced to this place: The God of mercy pardon and forgive them all. And truly as I am a Member of the Church, and as a member of Community where on behalf I have been ſpeaking, I cannot but do as our Saviour himſelf did for his Diſciples, when he was to be taken from them, he bleſſed them, and aſcended up to heaven. My truſt is, in the mercy of the moſt High I ſhall not miſcarry; and however my daies are ſhortned by this unexpected doom, and ſhall be brought untimely to the Grave. I cannot go without my prayers, for a bleſſing upon all the people of

this

this land, and cannot but bleſſe them all in the name of God, and beſeech God to bleſſe them all, the bleſſing of the Almighty be upon them.

Colonel Edward Aſhton, John Bettely, *and* Edward Stacy, *Executed* July 2. 1658.

THeſe perſons being all Arraigned together at the ſame *High Court*, with four more, being concerned in one Sentence, and one pretended Crime, I have put together, and briefly will give you an account of them.

They were charged to have conſpired the raiſing of a new War, the firing of the City, and the Death of *Cromwel*, to which they all pleaded not guilty, as all the World did judge them, who ſenſibly underſtood the deteſtable practice againſt them.

Colonel *Aſhton* was then a priſoner for Debt in *Newgate*, but by the Keepers favour, having liberty to go abroad, one day fell into Company with ſome of *Cromwel's* Trapan's: who finding, or perhaps knowing him to be a Cavalier, uttered

ed in his Audience, ſuch dangerous words as thoſe, and without any more ado delated him to the Secretary, as conſcious and partaker to the deſign, which was all his guilt, as he juſtified it upon his Death, which he ſuffered in *Tower-ſtreet*, by being hanged, drawn and quartered, where he declared his Loyalty to the King; but took it upon his approaching ſalvation, he was innocent of any the Crimes charged againſt him.

John Bettely ſuffered next, being brought from the *Tower* to *Cheapſide*, in the ſame Sledge that drew Colonel *Aſhton* from *Newgate*; (their Executions being divided into ſeveral quarters of the City, as their pretended Plot was of firing it: the old Cheat, of picking out places to attend the guilt, and to collogue with the City, by the diſſembled care thereof) and near the Croſſe Executed in the ſame manner, where he likewiſe proteſted his Innocency, being meerly betrayed by thoſe Ruffian *Emiſſaries* of *Cromwels*. After he had hung a long while, that every one concluded him dead, in a ſtrange miraculous way, as might ſerve to the confuſion of his Blood-thirſty Enemies, he pulled off his Cap, and held

held it in both hands, ſtaring with his eyes as if alive: but the Executioner quickly after diſpatcht him, and concluded his Martyrdom.

Mr. *Edward Stacy* was hanged onely two dayes after, where he ſaid the like, and ſuffered with patience the loſſe of this temporal, to enjoy with unſpeakable happineſſe Life Everlaſting.

The others were Reprieved, and by the Death of *Cromwel*, ſoon after ſet at Liberty, which was conſummated at the Reſtauration of his Sacred Majeſty, whoſe benign Rayes of Peace and Security, have dryed up all our Teares of ſorrow and mourning into Teares of Joy, and is leaving us to forget our paſt miſeries, and loſſes of our Liberties, Eſtates, and Relations.

A Catal-

held it in both hand, staring with his eyes as if alive; but the Executioner quickly after dispatch him, and concluded his Martyrdom.

Mr. Edmund Stacy was hanged only two dayes after, where he said the like, and suffered with patience the loose of this temporal, to enjoy with unspeakable happinesse Life Everlasting.

The others were Reprieved, and by the Death of Cromwell, soon after set at Liberty, which was [illegible] Rest [illegible] Sarred Mr. [illegible] being Rayes of Peace and Security, have dayed up all our Teares of sorrow and mourning into Teares of Joy, and is leavine us so forget our past miseries and [illegible] Liberties, [illegible] Relations.

A Catal-

CAROLO SECUNDO

TER

Maximo *Britanniarum* &
Franciæ Regi Precibus Martyrum
Revocato, restituto, Restitutori.

In sacrosanctam & Beatissimam
Memoriam

TAM

Pientissimi Patris ac Principis

QUAM

Fidelium Heroum ac Procerum
Cæterorumque Subditorum
Qui pro Rege & Lege mortem
sunt perpessi

HOC OBLATUM

Humillime vovet Dicatque

F. H.

To the most Illustrious

TRIUMVIRATE

The Heirs of Martyr'd
LOYALTY and HONOUR,
Charles Earl of *Derby*, &c.
William Earl of *Strafford*,
Knight of the most Honourable Order of the Garter, *&c.* and *Arthur* Earl of *Essex*, &c.

My Lords;

THis Piece directs it self into your hands, for without a greater presumption it could not pass them.

Your Noble Families, were the reſplendent *Triones* that accompanied the Devex of *Charles* his Wain, his Morning and Evening attendants, that *portended* and *extended* his Declination, (for in two of them He ſuffered beyond His own Fate) being plunged with Him in the depths of the ſame Red Sea, and are now riſen again in a full and moſt radient luſtre.

They were that *Conſtellation*, that directed three wandring *Kingdoms* into their way of Loyalty, and pointed out the due veneration to the King their *Redeemer*.

In

It was their all-powerful *Influence* of Duty and Obedience that hath *ſerened* theſe Times. The dark Obſcurity of that *Cloud* that *hid* them in their death, ſoon revealed it ſelf in *Glory*. This *ſtorm* which tempeſted theſe Kingdoms, being laid by their *Blood, which was poured out like water in the ſtreets*, hath brought again our *Halcyon* dayes, and turned our Miſeries into *Jubilees*.

This is the ſupererrogated Merit, of your Illuſtrious Parents, whom this Age and Poſterity ſhall reverence and admire; That your Lordſhips may ſurmount their Vertues,

as

as well as their difficulties, as you have exceeded their Titles; that you may, as the *Branches of those Vines, which being made to bleed, produce more generous and abundant Fruits*, that you may be the delight and Joy of these Nations, and *flourish* for ever, is, and shall be the incessant prayers of,

My Lords,

Your Honours

most obedient and

Devoted Servant,

James Heath.

THE AUTHOUR TO THE READER.

THis is only to inform you, that I have used my best endeavors to be punctually true in these Collections; but in such Distractions of the times, and Divisions of the mind and opinion, in which they were registred, I hope to be excused, if there be any uncertainty found therein. If I have omitted any out of this Martyrology, or have slightly passed them over, it is for want of fuller Information. I likewise desire all the Persons Related to them, would be pleased to

to give me a better Account, then our Re-ſearches could arrive at, and I ſhall inſert, rectifie, and enlarge their Narrative as occaſion ſhall offer. For the Confeſſors, I acknowledge, I have not been nice, nor yet have I been uncurious in their Catologue: I ſuppoſe I have ſet down the moſt Noted and Publick Perſons; but if there be more to add, I ſhall be very ready to do their Memory the Honours that duly appertain to them.

Vale.

Courteous Reader,

BE pleaſed to paſs by the Errours of the Preſs, where-ever you meet with them; and Pag. 119. *Tale.* for *Weſtminſter*, read *Wincheſter.*

A CATALOGUE AND Brief Account of the Confessors of the Royal Cause.

I Should undertake a voluminous and as difficult a labour, were it my purpose here to register all those gallant persons, that have suffered in their liberty & estates for their Loyalty. But I confine my self to the chief of those only who by particular Orders of Parliament, their pretended Courts of Law, and High Courts of Justice, were vexed, oppressed, and persecuted even to the brinks of death, leaving the other to the reward of a good Conscience, and the faithful record thereof in Heaven.

These ensuing illustrious and Noble Patterns as well for imitation as information, I thought fit to propose, and do humbly crave their pardon, if this weak and mean endeavour, cannot reach that grandeur of Spirit, with which they constantly endured their fiery tryals, and dreadful and doleful sufferings.

I observe the order of time, and not of Dignity, and shall begin with the right Honourable, the Lord *Finch* of *Fordwich*, who being Lord Keeper of the Seal, upon their arbitrary proceedings against the life of the Earl of *Strafford*, wisely withdrew himself, and endured banishment and exile from his own Country for sixteen years, and then returned, and died in Honour. His faithful serving his Soveraign in that great employment, being all his charge and accusation.

Mr. Secretary *Windebanke*, who pursued the same course, to avoid the Popular fury, and died abroad.

The Right reverend Father in God *Mat-*

then

then Lord Biſhop of *Ely*, who with eleven more of his Sacred Order, were committed to the Tower, in 1641, from which impriſonment he never ſtirred, till the end of the year 1659, at which time, by the means of the ever renowned Lord General the Duke of *Albemarle*, he was ſet at liberty from thence, in kind remembrance of thoſe fatherly counſels and happy advice, the ſaid noble Duke had, during his reſtraint in the ſame place, for the ſame account of Loyalty, received from this reverend Biſhop, who is now reeſtabliſhed in his ſame Dioceſſe, to the Honour and ſupport of this reſtored Church.

Doctor *Featly*, a very Learned Religious and grave Divine, to whom this Church oweth much for his accurate defences of its Doctrine and Diſcipline, being for no other cauſe committed to *Peter* Houſe by an Order of Parliament, languiſhed there a year and a half, and with much importunity was at laſt removed to *Chelſey* Colledge for the aire, but he died there within three weeks after his coming, being too far ſpent by his barbarous miſuſage.

Sir *Robert Heath* Lord Chief Justice of *England*, known so well for his integrity and moderation, and as famous for his constant Loyalty, of whom quarrelsome *John Lilburn*, a sworn Enemy to the Royal Party, gave so noble a character before his Judges at *Guild-hall*, forced to abandon his Country, fled over, towards the expiration of the War, into *France*, being by the bloody prevalent Faction at *Westminster* excepted from mercy; not long after the Kings death, with grief and anxiety of mind, to see the miseries and ruines of the King and his Country, he himself died at *Caen* in *Normandy*, and was received no doubt into mercy.

Judge *Bartlet* who weathered the same Storm, being the first committed of that reverend Robe, and long survived their high and insignificant charge and accusation; This gives us an Evidence of the intended Justice of the Reformers, who would first put out the eyes of the Law, that the Subject might see the better.

Sir *Ralph*, afterwards Lord *Hopton*, who so

so couragiously, and prudently, and as an Expert Captain, commanded for the King in the West, and had so many notable successes; after his disbanding in *Cornwall*, he took Shipping with the Prince, our now Soveraign, into the Island of *Scilly*, and from thence into *France*, following the Kings hard Fortune in all his peregrinations, till Death *arrested* him at *Paris*, and put an end to his Travel.

Judge *Jenkins*, one of his Majesties Justices in *Wales*, brought to the Chancery Bar for some misdemeanours of Loyalty, where he denied the Authority of the Court, for that the Seal was contrary to Law, as well as the Commissioners; whereupon he was sent to the Tower, where he persisted in his integrity, published several Presidents and Statutes, and argued them Rebels, and owned the same again at other bars, did what he could to set the Army and the Parliament together by the ears, defied them and their threats, and asserted the King and the Laws against their usurpation; was continued a close Prisoner, till they were weary of him, and then was sent to *Windsor* in the same quality, where he continued

of the same mind, till without thanks he was permitted the liberty of the Town. This brave stout person is yet living, but when dead, his memory shall endure for evermore.

Mr. Secretary Sir *Edward Nicolas*, who constantly abode with the King from the beginning of his troubles, and afterwards, continued the same Service and Office to his present Majesty, in all his troubles abroad, by no less trouble than Honour, having faithfully and prudently managed that employment, to the happy effect of his Majesties Restitution.

Sir *Edward Hide* now the Right Honourable Earl of *Clarendon*, Lord Chancellour of *England*, the Counsel-Favourite of his late Martyr'd Majesty, and therefore no wonder so hated by the Faction at *Westminster*, and traduced by their scandalous Votes, being excepted likewise out of their mercy. He not only continued the same advice, but also saw it in conclusion attain that successe to which it had alwaies been directed, but had missed of approbation till the general applause and shouts of our Deliverance. The

The Lord *Wilmot*, afterwards by King *Charles* the Second made Earl of *Rocheſter*, who throughout the War, particularly at *Roundway Down* neer the Devizes, ſo valiantly behaved himſelf, paſſed over with the Prince, and my Lord *Hopton* into *Scilly*, and accompanied his Highneſſe in all thoſe difficulties he paſſed, more eſpecially at *Worceſter*, and in his Majeſties happy conveyance from thence, which he principally managed. And here I muſt not omit the Duke of *Buckingham*, with an honourable reference alſo to his noble Brother my Lord *Francis Villers*, who young at *Kingſton* (as in the primitive times) gave early teſtimony to this cauſe, the valiant Earl of *Cleveland*, the Lord *Wentworth* his Son, and other Gentlemen in that Expedition, who ſuffered for their aſſiſtance and obedience to his Majeſty in thoſe commands. As alſo my Lord *Gerard*, now Captain of his Majeſties Life-guard, who bore part afterwards as well as before, in the calamity and misfortune of the Kings adventures in forrein parts. My Lord *Wilmot* unhappily died a little before the Kings reſtitution, and hath left behind him the ſweet ſavour

of a most Loyal affection to his Majesty.

Nor without due observation can I pass by the Earl of *Norwich*, my Lord *Loughborough*, *Bernard*, *Gascoign*, Col. *Far*, Squire *Hales* and the rest engaged in that design at *Colchester*, nor Sr. *John Owen*, for the same endeavour in *Wales*, being condemned with the said Earl of *Norwich* by the High Court of Justice; but must give their names and memories their veneration.

Nor likewise the right reverend Dr. *Shelden* now Lord Bishop of *London*, and the famous Dr. *Hamond*, who were a long while in restraint, and threatned with more cruelties, at the same time, expecting to have been transported to some forreign plantations.

Dr. *John Berkenhead*, who so hazardously and in so very great dangers, and several imprisonments, asserted his Majesties cause in its lowest extremities; this Gentleman is so deservedly well reputed, that this mite will signifie nothing.

Sr.

Sr. *Marmaduke Langdale*, now Lord *Langdale*, a Perſon not inferiour to any of his Majeſties Subjects for induſtry and perſonal Valour, which he for the defence of his Sacred Majeſty and his Reſtauration, deſerves to be had in everlaſting Remembrance.

But above all, the ſad viſitations of the Univerſities deſerves remembrance, that the guilt and danger of ſuch barbarity may make poſterity to tremble at the thought of it; being the comprehenſive deſign of all thoſe evils they after perpetrated, making thoſe Sources and Fountains of Learning and Piety, as broken Ciſterns, that ſhould hold no water, and the place become a meer puddle a *mare mortuum*, that ſhould ſend forth pernicious ſents, as might infect the Kingdom.

To enumerate all thoſe excellent perſons who were forced out of their Fellowſhips and other Collegiate Emoluments, and places, will require a Work of it ſelf, and ſo I paſs that ſad Story and beadrol, though with that due compaſſion to thoſe,

who though now *Augeas* stable be swept, yet cannot find the *Manger*.

After the two Universities, which afforded sufferers enough to make up a Catalogue as big as this whole Book, the next place is due to the *Martyr'd City* of *Worcester*, the Scene of ruin'd Loyalty, which would fill many pages with Red Letters, whose Citizens might all be transcribed into this *Cannon*, who besides their constant adherence to the Royal Cause from the first, when the honest Mayor Mr. *Soles* hardly escaped a gallows, set up for him at his own door, held out to the last for King *Charles* the *First*, not rendring without his Order, and had the honour to entertain King *Charles* the *Second* in Fifty one, where he was with great solemnity and greater joy proclaim'd, and in that fatal defeat suffer'd with him and for him, devoting their estates and lives as a ransom for his Majesties safety; whilest the streets at the Rebels entrance resounded with the Peoples cries, *Oh! save the King*; *save the King*.

Sr. *John Stowel* a *Somersetshire* Gentleman.

man, and Knight of the *Bath*, of a very great eſtate and as much loyalty, who adhered vigorouſly to the King during the War, till the ſurrender of *Exeter*, upon whoſe Articles he came to *London*, to make his compoſition, where contrary to that capitulation, the Committee at *Goldſmiths-Hall* tendred him the *Negative Oath* before any admiſſion to compound. He withſtanding this unjuſt and perfidious dealing, and pleading the benefit of the ſaid Articles, was reported to the Parliament as a Contemner of their Authority, and an Enemy, and thereupon committed to the Serjeant at Armes, thence to *New-gate*, from whence he was brought to their High Court of Juſtice, where with much adoe he eſcaped with life, being remanded to the Tower, and all his Eſtate amounting to ſeven or eight thouſand l. *per Annum*, ſold by a pretended Act of Parliament as forfeited for Treaſon. He now ſurvives all thoſe loſſes and miſeries, and may he like *Job* be rewarded trebble in the future of his life for his conſtant and ſtout integrity.

And here I could make a record of that black Bill and Liſt that paſſed for Acts of Parlia-

Parliament against several of the Nobility and Gentry, by which their estates were forfeited, and sold by Trustees thereunto appointed, for this only fault of Loyalty; but shall forbear.

Let the Purchasers blush at their shame and folly, while honest Loyalty keeps its countenance, and wears out the sudden braves of staring Rebellion.

I must also pass over the old Earl of *Kingston*, Father to the right Honourable Lord the Marquesse *Dorchester*, who being surprized by the Parliaments Forces, and by them put in a Vessel disigned for *Hull*, was shot by some of the Kings Forces at his passing by *Gainsborough*, the Rebels offering him (if the Royalists would venture to shoot) upon the Deck to their Bullets, by which he fell immediately.

The noble Marquesses of *Winchester*, *Newcastle*, and *Worcester*, deserve a more durable Register than the scantling and shortnesse of this little breviary, having divided all the sorrows of life, *viz.* imprisonment, distresse, banishment, depri-

vation

vation of Eſtate, and other diſcommodities of thoſe wretched times, among them, without any Intermiſſion of that, which weak men term inſupportable miſery.

Dr. *Barwick*, now the Reverend Dean of St. *Pauls*, who lay Priſoner in the Tower of *London*, while he was near famiſhed, by the cruel Order of the Long Parliament, ſoon after the Kings death, and was ſcarce able to ſtand, when Col. *Weſt*, the then Lieutenant, gave him his Liberty, on Parol, to render himſelf at a certain time ſoon after, which he performed, but the Lieut. dying, his wife ſet him at perfect Freedom, and gave him his *Conge*, it being the method of thoſe Tyrants, to bury men in their Priſons, unleſs they had that againſt them, which would preſently reach their Lives. And upon this Account, I hope to be excuſed, if I cannot retrive other Loyal Perſons from thoſe Obſcurities and Dungeons, and the Depths of Villany, and bring neither them, nor their Memories into Light.

What ſhould I mention the general calamity of the Clergy, Loyal and Orthodox, more

more especially the Fathers of the Church, since nothing can be more evident to us, and Posterity; but yet I cannot forget that most cruel Edict of *Oliver*, which by restriction of their Function, nay, their particular Abilities, took clearly away from them all hopes of sustentation and Maintenance of Life.

The Honourable Col. *John Russel*, Brother to the Earl of *Bedford*, who served all along his Majesty in his Armies, and suffered all along afterwards in the Usurpers Prisons, being one of the first, that, upon any the least occasion of their fear, was presently secured, and tossed from one Custody to another, till the happy Revolution of his Majesties Return.

Col. *John* and *William Ashburnham*, the former so well known in our Annals, both signally Loyal and honest, were served in the same manner, and in conclusion, sent away to remote Castles and Islands, and there debarred of any Intercourse or Correspondence with their Friends, meerly upon suspition, as to proof of any thing, whatever was in the bottom.

The

The Right Honourable, the Lord *Bellaſis*, in the very ſame Predicament, no where more reſident or conſtant then in their cuſtody, nor could go or travel any where, without a Paſſe, or ſafe Conduct from the next Officer, to the place of his Abode, for many years together, and perpetually in danger of being betrayed out of his Life.

Sr. *Humphrey Bennet*, formerly a Brigadeer in the Kings Army, an eminent Perſon for his Loyalty, ſeized, and ſecured as a partaker and confederate in that unfortunate buſineſs of Col. *Penruddock*, at *Salisbury*, (being of that Country) as aforeſaid, was kept in Priſon at the Tower of *London*, from the time of that Riſing, till *Olivers* next Plot in 1658. upon Sr. *William Slingsby*, &c. which was near 3 years, and then brought before the High Court of Juſtice, with thoſe Gentlemen, where, after ſome dayes attendance, their preparations of his Charge not taking with their Intentions, he was ſuperſeded from his Trial, and remitted again to his Confinement.

For the Honour of the City of *Lond.* S. *Abr. Reynold-*

Reynoldson, Sr. *John Gaire*, Ald. *Adams*, Ald. *Bunch*, and Major Gen. *Brown*, who suffered a sharp and tedious Imprisonment.

The Right Honourable, *John*, now Lord Viscount *Mordant*, Brother to the Earl of *Peterborough*, who indefatigably laboured in the Kings Business, being really engaged in the matters wherewith he was accused, and came off but by one saving voyce, at his Trial before the said Court, when others not concerned at all, were there condemned, no sooner got his Liberty by the death of *Oliver*, but he was as earnestly busie as before against the Rump, and by Proclamation commanded to render himself by such a time, or else be reputed a Traytor. He now lives, and hath seen some of them suffer the Reward of such, and is Governour of *Windsor* Castle.

Mr. now, Sr. *Thomas Woodcocke*, a Confederate in the same Design with my Lord *Mordant*, so wisely managed his Defence at the aforesaid Bar the same time, that he was fairly acquitted by those bloudy Justices, and soon after set at Liberty, which by his Maje-

Majeſties Gracious Favours is improved into Honour.

Mr. *Chriſtopher Pits*, Brother to M. *Pits* of *Hampſhire*, who married the Lady *Chaudois*; I the rather mention his Noble Family, becauſe of the Nobleneſs of this ſubſequent Action: He was apprehended with Mr. *Garrent*, and other Citizens, for the ſame buſineſs of the Lord *Mordant*, and committed to *New-gate*; after his Examination taken, they would have made uſe of him (having not enough againſt his Life) as a witneſs againſt his Aſſociates, and in order thereunto, brought him down to the High Court, where he refuſed, and reſolutely denied to give any Evidence concerning, or againſt the Priſoners; whereupon, after many vain Threats and Menaces, he was by the Court ſent back to *Newgate*, there condemned to perpetual Impriſonment, and fined 1000 *l.* which he willingly ſubmitted to, rather then be guilty of the Bloud of his Friends, though a kind of forcible neceſſity would have ſeemed to warrant ſuch an Action. He continued a Priſoner, but at large, after *Olivers* death, till

till the Coming of the General, when he forsook that Station, and recommenced his Freedom, with the Kingdoms.

Mr. *William Garrent*, who was tried before the same Court, for the same business, escaped, as is generally believed, through the want of that Evidence they relied upon from Mr *Pits*, with much ado he was quitted, and soon after set at Liberty.

Henry Friar, who was one of those also, was condemned at the said Court, and was brought afterwards to *West-Smithfield*, where in the Rounds a Gibbet was erected, upon the Ladder, and ready to die, the Reprieve was produced, and he carried back again to the Tower, whence, not long after, he was dismist.

John Sumner, and *Oliver Allen*, the like, the one drawn on a Hurdle to *Bishopsgate*, and the other to *Grace-Church* street, the places of their appointed Execution, but were both there reprieved, and afterwards freed.

Sr.

Sr. *George Booth*, now Lord *Delamere*, who in 1659. roſe againſt the Rump, and was proclaimed Traytor, with Major Gen. *Egerton*, Col. *Worden*, and Sr. *Thomas Middleton*, being defeated near *Northwich* in *Cheſhire*, fled in diſguiſe to *Newport Pagnel*, and was there taken, and ſent Priſoner to the Tower of *London*, and ſoon after his Eſtate was Ordered to be ſequeſtred, and ſold; and Preparations to be made for his Trial: but upon the diviſion of his, and their fore-gotten Spoyles, betwixt that Remnant at *Weſtminſter*, and their Commander *Lambert*, which brought about, through the Prudence and Loyalty of our Noble General, the Re-admiſſion of the Secluded Members, he was ſet at Liberty, and his Eſtate freed likewiſe, which is now mounted to the Honourable Revenue of a Barony.

Sr. *Thomas Middleton*, ingaged in the ſame Quarrel, after this Defeat, was forced to flee, leaving his Sons to defend *Chirke* Caſtle, which rendred ſoon after to Col. *Zanchy*, but the happy Revolution aforeſaid, reſtored him, and his Eſtate together.

I do

I do here also leave out all Persons, who condemned by Courts Martial, with others that suffered, or alone were afterward reprieved, because it is an undertaking of so wide a circumference, that is impossible, without much Errour and Uncertainty, particularly, I passe by the Names of those, who were kept so long in Durance at *Exeter*, and were afterwards sent away to the *Barbadoes*. for the Rising with Col. *Penruddock*, because of the Prolixity of that Roll, and I would not be partial.

Lastly, It were an infinite Task to particularize the several Sequestrations, Plunderings, and Rapines committed on the Kings good Subjects; the Product of which Spoyles amounted to a vast sum of Treasure, and might be sister to the Publick Faith-Money, as Violence and Fraud are seldom asunder. But what is herein defective, would indeed be redundant, and therefore

therefore I refer every Particular of thoſe ſufferers to the General Day of *Account*, when they ſhall receive full Recompence.

FINIS.

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THere is now Publiſhed, the *Reconciler of the Bible* Inlarged: wherein above *three thouſand ſeeming Contradictions* throughout the *Old* and *New Teſtament* are fully and plainly *Reconciled*: being a very uſeful *Work* for all ſuch as deſire to underſtand the *Sacred Scri-*

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